THE TRUE

NATURE OF IMPOSTURE,

FULLY DISPLAYED

THE LIFE

OF

MAHOME

A Discourse annexed for the Vindication of Christianity from the Charge of Imposture.

Offered to the Consideration of the DEISTS of the PRESENT AGE.

BY HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D.
Dean of Norwich.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

LIFE OF MAHOMED

Of the family of Mahomet, and his marriage with Cadigha. - - - - - - - PAGE 1
Of his firſt pretending to be a prophet. - - - 12
Of the Alcoran. - - - - - - - - 13
The proofs of his pretended miſſion. - - - - 14
The framers of the Alcoran. - - - - - 31
Mahomet's marriage with three wives. - - - 37
His night-journey to heaven. - - - - - 43
His oral law. - - - - - - - - 44
The beginning of the Hegira, and the computation of their year. - - - - - - - 50
His robberies. - - - - - - - 58
Of Mecca, and the temple there. - - - - 64
The month of Ramadam their yearly faſt. - - 68
Mahomet's intimacy with the Jew Caab. - - - 70
The occaſion of his forbidding wines and games of chance. - - - - - - - - 73
Of pilgrimages to Mecca. - - - - - 79
Mahomet's poiſoning at Chaibar. - - - - 84
His death and burial at Medina. - - - - 90
General reflections on the life of Mahomet. - - 91
Of the contradictions in the Alcoran. - - - 102
The texts of holy Scripture Mahomet urges for his religion. - - - - - - - 108

CONTENTS

OF THE

LETTER TO THE DEISTS.

INTRODUCTION. 1. What an impoſture is. 2. What are the marks and properties of an impoſture. 3. That all thoſe marks muſt belong to every impoſture, and all particularly did ſo to Mahometiſm; and that none of them can be charged upon Chriſtianity; is propoſed to be the deſign of the enſuing diſcourſe. - - 115

Sect. 1. *The firſt mark of an impoſture*, That it muſt always have for its end ſome carnal intereſt; *not chargeable on Chriſtianity.* - - - - - - - 118

Sect. 2. *The ſecond mark of an impoſture*, That it can have none but wicked men for the authors of it; *not chargeable on Chriſtianity.* - - - - - - - 135

Sect. 3. *The third mark of an impoſture*, That both theſe two laſt marks muſt appear in the very contexture of the impoſture itſelf; *not chargeable on Chriſtianity.* 141

Sect. 4. *The fourth mark of an impoſture*, That it can never be ſo framed, but that it muſt contain ſome palpable falſities, which will diſcover the falſity of all the reſt; *not chargeable on Chriſtianity* - - - 165

Sect. 5. *The fifth mark of an impoſture*, That whenever it is firſt propagated, it muſt be done by craft and fraud; *not chargeable on Chriſtianity.* - - - - 175

Sect. 6. *The ſixth mark of an impoſture*, That when entruſted with many conſpirators, it can never be long concealed; *not chargeable on Chriſtianity.* - - 191

Sect. 7. *The ſeventh mark of an impoſture*, That it can never be eſtabliſhed, unleſs backed with force and violence; *not chargeable on Chriſtianity.* - - - 193
The concluſion. - - - - - - - - 206
An account of the authors quoted in this whole work. 209

TO THE

READER.

THE great prevailing of infidelity in the preſent age, making it the duty of every one of us that have undertaken the miniſtry of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, to endeavour to put a ſtop thereto; that I may in ſome meaſure do my part herein, is a ſufficient reaſon to juſtify the preſent publication. But beſides, the poiſon having, I fear, reached ſome places, where it is my particular duty to prevent its miſchiefs; and infected ſome perſons, for whoſe eternal welfare, as well as temporal, I have reaſon to be nearly concerned; I have hereby been more eſpecially engaged to ſet forth the enſuing hiſtory, with the tract ſubjoined thereto, for an antidote againſt it. And if I can hereby avail any thing with thoſe who have caſt off Chriſtianity as an impoſture, to make them ſee the error of their apoſtacy, I ſhall then obtain the full end I propoſe; if not, at leaſt I ſhall diſ-

charge my conſcience and my duty, in doing the beſt I can in order thereto.

That which at preſent ſeems moſtly to carry men away into this infidelity, is the giddy humour which too many among us, eſpecially of the younger ſort, are liable unto, in following whatſoever hath gotten into faſhion and vogue: For theſe, looking no farther than what prevails moſt among ſuch as they converſe with, of courſe fall in with it, whatſoever it be, without any other conſideration, but that they think it the dreſs which is moſt faſhionable and genteel for them to appear in, and the mode wherein they may make the moſt acceptable figure among the company they keep. And therefore that kind of infidelity which is called Deiſm, being of late impiouſly patronized by too many of thoſe who govern the humours of the times, abundance of this ſort of unthinking people have merely, out of compliance with them, run in thereto, and confidently taken upon them to call Chriſtianity a cheat and an impoſture, without ever having conſidered, what an impoſture is, or whether any of the marks and properties thereof can poſſibly agree with this holy religion, or no.

That therefore theſe may ſee what it is they

charge Chriſtianity with, and how far all the marks and properties thereof are from having any agreement with it, I have in the enſuing hiſtory, which contains the life of that famous Impoſtor, who is on both ſides equally acknowledged to be ſuch, fully laid open what an impoſture is; and in the diſcourſe ſubjoined thereto, ſhewn that none of theſe marks and properties which are ſo viſible in the impoſture of Mahomet, and muſt be alſo in all other impoſtures in religion, can poſſibly be charged upon that holy religion which we profeſs. And an hiſtory being that which gives the moſt lively and ſenſible repreſentations of a matter, and books of this nature being ſuch as moſt obtain the favour of being read, I hope I have taken the propereſt method of coming home to the conſciences of thoſe to whom I write.

And that I may not be thought to draw this Life of Mahomet, with deſign to ſet forth his impoſture in the fouleſt colours I am able, the better to make it ſerve my preſent purpoſe, I have been careful to ſet down all my authorities in the margin, and at the end of the book have given an account of all the authors from whom I collected them.

And that I may the more remove all ſuſpi-

cion of this matter, I think it requiſite to acquaint you, That although at preſent I have adapted the Life of Mahomet to this purpoſe, yet it was not originally deſigned for it; it being when I firſt wrote it, only the interſperſed parts of one chapter of a much larger work, which I intended for the public, viz. The Hiſtory of the Ruin of the Eaſtern Church; which beginning from the death of the Emperor Mauricius, Anno Dom. 602. was deſigned to have been brought down to the fall of the Saracen empire, which happened Anno Dom. 936. when the governors of provinces under the Caliph, uſurping the ſovereign authority, each in their ſeveral diſtricts, did put an end to that large and formidable empire, by dividing it among them.

And ſuch an hiſtory I promiſed myſelf might be of ſome uſe in our preſent age: For notwithſtanding thoſe earneſt expectations and ſtrong hopes, which we entertained in the beginning of this government, of having our diviſions healed, and all thoſe breaches which they have cauſed in the church again made up; finding thoſe of the ſeparation ſtill to retain the ſame ſpirit on the one ſide, and ſome others to be ſo violently bent on the other, againſt every thing

that might tend to mollify and allay it, as to fruſtrate all thoſe excellent deſigns which have been laid in order thereto; I thought I could not better let thoſe men ſee what miſchief they both do hereby to the common intereſt of Chriſtianity, than by laying before them the grievous ruin and deſolation, which from the like cauſe happened to the churches of the Eaſt, once the moſt flouriſhing of the whole earth. For they having drawn the abſtruſeſt niceties into controverſy, which were of little or no moment to that which is the chief end of our holy Chriſtian religion, and divided and ſubdivided about them into endleſs ſchiſms and contentions, did thereby ſo deſtroy that peace, love and charity from among them, which the goſpel was given to promote, and inſtead thereof continually provoked each other to that malice, rancour, and every evil work, that they loſt the whole ſubſtance of their religion, while they thus eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it, and in a manner drove Chriſtianity quite out of the world by thoſe very controverſies in which they diſputed with each other about it. So that at length having wearied the patience and long-ſuffering of God, in thus turning this holy reli-

gion into a firebrand of hell, for contention, ſtrife, and violence among them, which was given them out of his infinite mercy to the quite contrary end, for the ſalvation of their ſouls, by living holily, righteouſly, and juſtly in this preſent world, he raiſed up the Saracens to be the inſtruments of his wrath, to puniſh them for it; who taking advantage of the weakneſs of power, and the diſtractions of counſels, which theſe diviſions had cauſed among them, ſoon over-run with a terrible devaſtation all the Eaſtern provinces of the Roman empire. And having fixed that tyranny over them, which hath ever ſince afflicted thoſe parts of the world, turned every where their churches into moſques, and their worſhip into an horrid ſuperſtition; and inſtead of that holy religion which they had thus abuſed, forced on them that abominable impoſture of Mahometiſm, which dictating war, bloodſhed, and violence in matters of religion, as one of its chiefeſt virtues, was in truth the moſt proper for thoſe, who had afore by their ſchiſm and contentions reſolved all the religion they had thereinto. And when the matter came to this trial, ſome of thoſe who were the hotteſt contenders about Chriſtianity, became the firſt apoſtates from it;

and they, who would not afore part with a nicety, an abſtruſe notion or any unreaſonable ſcruple, for the peace of the church, were ſoon brought by the ſword at their throats, to give up the whole in compliance to the pleaſure of a barbarous and ſavage conqueror. And no wonder that ſuch, who had afore wrangled away the ſubſtance of their religion in contention and ſtrife againſt each other, and eat out the very heart of it by that malice and rancour which they ſhewed in their controverſy about it, became eaſily content, when under this force, to part with the name alſo. Thus thoſe once glorious and moſt flouriſhing churches, for a puniſhment of their wickedneſs, being given up to the inſult, ravage, and ſcorn of the worſt of enemies, were on a ſudden overwhelmed by them with ſo terrible a deſtruction, as brought them to that low and miſerable ſtate, under the preſſures of which they have ever ſince groaned; wherein they, retaining no more than ſome few and lamentable ruins of what they once were, ſeem thus to be continued even unto this day, by the all-wiſe providence of God, in the ſame miſerable condition, under the pride and perſecution of Mahometan tyranny, for no other end, but to be an example

and warning unto others, againſt that wickedneſs of ſeparation and diviſion, by which they were brought thereto. A ſad memento to us; for of all Chriſtian churches now remaining in the world, which is there that hath more reaſon than we at this preſent, to learn inſtruction from this example, and take warning therefrom? For are not our diviſions brought to much the ſame height with theirs, which drew down from the juſt hand of God this terrible deſtruction upon them; when men making no conſcience of breaking the public peace of the church, divide and ſubdivide from it into endleſs factions, ſchiſms, and contentions, about their own imaginations? When they durſt reject the ancient and primitive government of the church, which was by the direction of God's holy Spirit eſtabliſhed in it from the beginning, to make way for new ſchemes of their own invention; and are content to ruin all, rather than not obtain their humour herein? When they will have the decency and order of our outward worſhip condemned as crimes; and for the privilege of praying in public, according to their own unpremeditated conceptions, without method or ſenſe, advance ſuch arguments againſt our liturgies and forms of prayer,

as have in a manner totally deſtroyed the devotion of the nation? When they ſcruple more at the kneeling to God in the holy ſacrament of the Euchariſt, while they are receiving from him one of his greateſt mercies, and ought to be rendering to him their higheſt thankſgiving in return thereto, than in breaking the chiefeſt of his commandments; and thus in a manner reſolve all religion into contending againſt our juſt and legal eſtabliſhments about it. And when others, on the other hand, whoſe duty it is to labour for our peace, would rather have this devouring flame of ſtrife and diviſion ſtill continued among us, than throw in one bucket of water to cool and allay it: I ſay, when matters are brought to this paſs, do we not equal, or rather excel that wickedneſs of contention, ſtrife, and diviſion, for which God poured out his fierce wrath upon thoſe once moſt flouriſhing churches of the Eaſt, and in ſo fearful a manner brought them to deſtruction thereby? And have we not reaſon then to be warned by the example? Have we not reaſon to fear, that God may in the ſame manner raiſe up ſome Mahomet againſt us for our utter confuſion; and when we cannot be contented with that bleſſed eſtabliſhment of divine worſhip and

truth which he hath in ſo great purity given unto us, permit the wicked one by ſome other ſuch inſtrument to overwhelm us inſtead thereof with his ſouleſt deluſions? And by what the Socinian, the Quaker, and the Deiſt begin to advance in this land, we may have reaſon to fear, that wrath hath ſome time ſince gone forth from the Lord for the puniſhment of theſe our iniquities and gainſayings, and that the plague is already begun among us.

That therefore we may fully ſee to what theſe miſchiefs among us lead, and be influenced thereby to ſuch an amendment as might divert the judgment from us, was the reaſon that made me deſign the publication of the hiſtory I have mentioned; wherein my purpoſe was to give an account, firſt of the controverſies which miſerably divided thoſe Eaſtern churches, and then of that grievous calamity and ruin which happened to them thereupon, through that deluge of Mahometan tyranny and deluſion which overwhelmed all thoſe provinces in which they were planted, and hath continued there to the afflicting of the poor remainders of them with miſery and perſecution ever ſince. For mens minds being uſually more influenced by example, than by

precept or exhortation; and eaſier convinced of the miſchief which any evil leads to, by ſeeing the ſufferings of others herein, than by the greateſt ſtrength of reaſon and argument that can be preſſed upon them in order hereto, I hope that, perchance, by laying open before the contending parties here among us, what miſchief thoſe Eaſtern churches ſuffered in the like caſe, through that diſmal ruin which was by their diviſions brought upon them, I might awaken them with this affrighting example, to think of thoſe things which might tend to their peace; and hereby prevail with them to ſet ſome ſteps toward the happy re-eſtabliſhment of it among us, which as yet no reaſon or argument hath been able to induce them to.

But when I had made my collections, and gone a great way in putting my laſt hand to the compoſure, thoſe diſturbances that happened about the doctrine of the Holy Trinity among us, gave me a reflection which put a ſtop to my pen, and made me reſolve to ſurceaſe the whole work. For perceiving what advantage the unwary ſtirring of this controverſy did give the Atheiſt, the Deiſt, and the Socinian, for the advancing of their impieties, by confounding and diſtracting the minds of

men with their cavils and objections againſt what we hold in this myſtery to be above our underſtandings fully to comprehend; and how ſeveral of them did, in a manner ſo licentious as was ſcarce ever before allowed in a Chriſtian ſtate, exerciſe their wits in this matter, I durſt not, conſidering the ſubject of this book, venture it abroad in ſo wanton and lewd an age. For the two great myſteries of Chriſtianity (and which will be always ſuch unto us while in this ſtate of ignorance and infirmity) being the doctrine of the Trinity, and that of the hypoſtatical union; and this latter being the ſubject about which all thoſe diviſions were, which occaſioned that ruin of thoſe churches, of which in this hiſtory an account was purpoſed to be given; and this neceſſarily leading me therein, not only to unravel all thoſe controverſies which they made about it, but alſo to unfold all the niceties and ſubtil notions which each ſect did hold concerning it, I had reaſon to fear, that thoſe who made ſuch work with one of the myſteries of our holy religion, would not be leſs bold with the other, which is altogether as great, were it in that manner laid open unto them, as it is in this hiſtory contained; and therefore I rather choſe totally to

ſuppreſs my labours, than run the hazard, in their publication, of doing more hurt than good thereby. Only that part which relates to the life of Mahomet, after having gathered it together out of that chapter of this hiſtory where it lay interſperſed with other matters, I have here publiſhed, to anſwer that deſign which I have already given an account of.

As to the Diſcourſe annexed, I have directed it only to thoſe Deiſts, who according to Mr. Blount's deſcription of them, hold a Providence, and future rewards and puniſhments. For ſuch ſeeming to retain the common principles of natural religion and reaſon, allow a ſufficient foundation whereon to be diſcourſed with. But as to the Atheiſt, who denies the being of a God, which all things elſe prove; and the Epicurean Deiſt, who allowing his Being, denies his providence, and his government over us, which all the occurrences of our life become conſtant arguments for, they being ſuch as muſt neceſſarily reject firſt principles, and bid defiance to all manner of reaſon, before they can ſo far blind themſelves as to arrive hereto, do leave no room for any argument but that of the whip and laſh, to convince them of thoſe impious abſurdities, and therefore de-

ſerve not by any other method to be dealt with. Beſides, if you will know the true reaſon which induceth the Atheiſt to deny the being of a God, and the Epicurean Deiſt his government over us; it is, that they may give themſelves up, without fear of future judgment, to all thoſe beſtial enjoyments of luſt and ſenſuality which their corrupt hearts carry them after; and therefore it not being the reaſon of the man, but the brutal appetite of the beaſt that makes them ſuch, they deſerve no otherwiſe than as beaſts to be treated by us; and for this reaſon, as I write not to them, ſo I deſire to be underſtood to have nothing to do with them.

For the clearer underſtanding of the hiſtory, I deſire you to take notice, that in the proper names, *Al* is a particle which ſignifieth in *Arabic* the ſame with the *Engliſh* The, or the *Greek* ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, as in *Al Abas*; *Ebn*, or with the particle *Al* after it, *Ebno'l* is the *Son*, and *Abu*, or with the particle *Al* after it, *Abu'l* is the *Father*; and thus *Mahomet* is called *Ebn Abdollah Abu Caſem*, that is, *The Son of Abdollah, the Father of Caſem*. For it was uſual with the *Arabs* to take their names of diſtinction from their ſons as well as from their fathers; and thus *Ebno'l Athir*, is

the ſon of Al Athir, and *Abu'l Abbas* is *the Father of Al Abbas*; *Abd*, or with the particle *Al* after it *Abdo'l*, ſignifieth *Servant*; and thus *Abdo'llah* ſignifieth *the Servant of God*, and *Abdo'l Shems*, *the Servant of the Sun*. In theſe and all other Arabic names I exactly follow the Arabic pronunciation, without regarding how they have been written or ſpelled by any other Weſtern author that hath treated of them; and that the rather, becauſe of the agreement which the Arabic hath with the Engliſh both in the power of its letters and the pronunciation of its words, there being no language in the world more a-kin to ours, than the Arabic is in theſe particulars: only as to the name of the Impoſtor himſelf, I rather chooſe to make uſe of the vulgar manner of writing it, becauſe of the notoriety of it, than make any change, although to the truth, from that which hath been generally received; and therefore I call him every where *Mahomet*, although *Mohammed* be the alone true and proper pronunciation of the name.

To conclude; on thy peruſal of this treatiſe, as far as thou haſt need of what is deſigned thereby, either for the reſtoration of thy faith,

or the confirmation of it; ſo far I pray God it may be uſeful to thee, and I am

The hearty wiſher of thy peace

and everlaſting ſalvation,

Norwich,
March 15.
1696--7.

H. PRIDEAUX.

THE

LIFE

OF

MAHOMED

MAHOMET (or, according to the true pronunciation of the word, Mohammed) was born [a] at Mecca, a city of Arabia, of the tribe of the Koraſhites, [b] which was reckoned the nobleſt in all that country, and was deſcended in a direct line of primogeniture from Pher Koraiſh, the firſt founder of it, from whom they derive his pedigree in this manner; [b] the ſon of Pher Koraiſh was Galeb; the ſon of Galeb, Lawa; the ſon of Lawa, Caab; the ſon of Caab, Morrah, whoſe younger brother was Ada; from whom was deſcended Omar Ebno'l Chattab, that was Calif. The ſons of Morrah were Chelab, Tayem, and Yokdah: from Tayem, Abu-Beker, and Telha; and from Yokdah, Chalid Ebn Walid, had their deſcent. Chelab was he who firſt gave the months of the year thoſe names by which the Arabs ever ſince have called them, even to this day.

[a] Abul Faraghius, Abul Feda. Elmacin. Alkodai, &c.
[b] Hottingeri Hiſt. Orient. lib. 1. c. 4.
[c] Abul Feda. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 50. & 51. Echelenſis Hiſt. Arab. Part 1. c. 3. Liber de Generatione & Nutritura Mahometis.

They had formerly other names, [d] but Chelab having given them thoſe new ones, they firſt grew into uſe among the Koraſhites, and after, by the authority of Mahomet, when he had brought all the reſt of the tribes of the Arabs under his power, obtained every where elſe, and the old ones became totally aboliſhed. The eldeſt ſon of Chelab, was Coſa; and the younger, Zahrah, from whom was Amena, the mother of Mahomet. [e] Coſa was very famous among the Koraſhites, for gaining to his family the keeping of the keys of the Caaba, and with them the preſidency of that temple, which is the ſame to which the Mahometans now make their pilgrimage at Mecca, and was then as much celebrated for the Heathen worſhip among the Arabs, as it hath ſince been for the Mahometan; and therefore the preſidency of it was a matter of great moment, as being a ſtation, which rendered him that was in it honourable through all Arabia. It was before in the poſſeſſion of Abu-Gabſhan, of the tribe of the Cozaites, who were of the ancient race of the Arabs, deſcended from Joktan, and formerly had their dwelling in Yaman, or Arabia Felix, till being driven thence by an inundation from the breaking down of the banks of the lake Aram, which deſtroyed their country, they came and ſettled in the valley of Marry, not far from Mecca, and from thence they were called Cozaites, which ſignifieth the *cutting off*, becauſe by this remove they were ſeparated, and as it were cut off from the reſt of their kindred. They had not long lived at Marry, till they grew ſo powerful, as to make themſelves maſters of Mecca, and alſo of the caaba, or temple, which ſtood there, and held both the government of the one, and the preſidency of the other, for

[d] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum. p. 4.

[e] Abul Feda. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 42, 50, & 342. Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. p. 1. c. 3. Fortalitium Fidei, lib. 4. Conſid. 1.

many ages after; till at length the latter falling into the hands of Abu Gabſhan, a weak and ſilly man, Coſa circumvented him while in a drunken humour, and bought of him the keys of the temple, and with them the preſidency of it, for a bottle of wine. But Abu Gabſhan, being gotten out of his drunken fit, ſufficiently repented of his fooliſh bargain; from whence grew theſe proverbs among the Arabs; 'more vexed with late repentance than Abu Gabſhan;' and, 'more ſilly than Abu Gabſhan?' which are uſually ſaid of thoſe who part with a thing of great moment for a ſmall matter. However, he was not ſo ſilly, but when he came to himſelf, he underſtood the value of what he had parted with, and would fain have retrieved it again; to which purpoſe he gave Coſa ſome diſturbance in the poſſeſſion of his purchaſe; and the reſt of the Cozaites joined with him herein, as not liking that he ſhould be thus deprived of his right by a trick, and thereby the preſidency of the temple go out of their tribe into that of the Koraſhites. But Coſa being aware hereof, ſent privately to all the Koraſhites, who were diſperſed abroad among the neighbouring tribes, to meet with him at Mecca on a day appointed; with whoſe help falling on the Cozaites, he expelled them all out of the city, and from that time the whole poſſeſſion of Mecca remained to the Koraſhites; and Coſa, and his poſterity in a right line down to Mahomet, had the preſidency of the temple, and the chief government of the city ever after.

The eldeſt ſon of Coſa was Abd Menaph, and the younger Abdol Uzza, names taken from the idols of the temple, of which Coſa had now gotten the preſidency. For Abd Menaph in the Arab language, ſignifieth the ſervant or worſhipper of Menaph; and Abdol Uzza, the ſervant or worſhipper of Uzza, which were heathen deities then worſhipped by the Arabians. Of the poſterity of Abdol Uzza, were Zobair, and Cadigha the wife of Mahomet.

The eldeſt ſon of [f] Abd Menaph was Haſhem, and the younger Abdſhem, whoſe ſon was Ommia, from whom the Ommiadæ, who for ſo many deſcents governed the Saracen empire. Haſhem, as well as his father and grandfather, was prince of his tribe, and a perſon of great note in his time through all Arabia. From him the kindred of Mahomet are called Haſhemites; and he who governs at Mecca and Medina (who muſt always be of the race of Mahomet) is called in their language, [g] Al Emamo'l Haſhem, that is, the *prince of the Haſhemites*, even unto this day.

The ſon of Haſhem was [h] Abdol Motallab, who ſucceeded his father in the government of his tribe at Mecca, and had to do with two very formidable enemies in his time; [i] Choſroes, the firſt of that name, king of Perſia, and Abraham king of the Ethiopians. The firſt having extended his empire a great way into Arabia, on the north of Mecca; and the other poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of the Homerites on the ſouth, became very dangerous neighbours unto him; but he defended himſelf againſt both, and forced the latter to a very ſhameful retreat, when he came with a numerous army to beſiege the city, as ſhall be hereafter more fully related. He lived to a very great age, being [k] an hundred and ten years old at his death: he had thirteen ſons, their names were as followeth; Abdollah, Hamzah, Al-Abbas, Abu Taleb, Abu Laheb, Al-Gidak, Al-Hareth, Jahel, Al-Mokawam, Dorar, Al-Zobair, Ketham, and Abdal Caaba. The eldeſt of them,

[f] Abul Feda. Pococ. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 51. Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. Part 1. c. 3. Liber de Generatione & Nutritura Mahometis.

[g] Sionita in Append. ad Geographiam Nubienſem, c. 7.

[h] Abul Feda. Pocock. Ecchelenſis, ib.

[i] Hottinger, Hiſt. Orient. lib. 1. c. 3.

[k] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

Abdollah, having married Amena, the daughter of Waheb, was by her the father of Mahomet [l] who was born at Mecca in the month of May, in the year of our Lord 571. Juſtin the Second being then emperor of Conſtantinople, and Choſroes the Firſt, king of Perſia.

By this it appears, Mahomet was not of ſuch mean and vile parentage as ſome have aſſerted. For being a Koraſhite, he was of the nobleſt tribe of all Arabia, and the family he was born of, was the moſt conſiderable of that tribe, as being that which, for ſeveral deſcents together, had borne the chief rule over it. However, in the beginning of his life he was in [m] a very poor and deſpicable condition. For his father dying before he was two years old, and while his grandfather Abdol Motallab was ſtill living, all the power and wealth of his family became derived to his uncles, eſpecially to Abu Taleb, who after the death of Abdol Motallab his father, bore the chief ſway in Mecca as long as he lived, which was to a very great age; and under his protection chiefly was it that Mahomet, when he firſt broached his impoſture, was ſupported againſt all his oppoſers, and grew up to that height thereby, as to be able after his death to carry it on, and alſo eſtabliſh it through all Arabia by his own power.

After his father's death, he continued under the tuition of his mother till the eighth year of his age; when [n] ſhe alſo dying, he was taken home to his grandfather, Abdol Motallab, who at his death, which happened the next year after, com-

[l] Abul Feda. Alkodai. Abul Faraghius. p. 101. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Pocock, Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 170. Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. lib. 1. c. 6.

[m] Abul Feda. Abunazar. Abul Faraghius, p. 101. Elmaciu. l. 1. c. 1. Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. l. 2. c. 1. Guadagnol. Tract. 2. c. 10.

[n] Abul Feda. Abul Faraghius, p. 101. Elmaçin. lib. 1. c. 1.

mitted him to the care of his uncle, Abu Taleb, to be educated by him out of charity, who carrying on a trade of merchandize, took him into this employment, and bred him up in the buſineſs of it. For Mecca [o] being ſituated in a very barren ſoil, could not of itſelf ſubſiſt; and therefore the inhabitants were forced to betake themſelves to merchandize for their ſupport; and the beſt men among them had ſcarce any other eſtate but in their ſtock wherewith they did traffic; and therefore they all betook themſelves to this courſe of life, which they ſeem to have received down from the Iſmaelites, from whom they were deſcended, and in the ſame manner as they carried on a trade into Syria, Perſia, and Egypt, on camels backs, furniſhing thoſe countries with ſuch commodities, as came to them from India, Ethiopia, and other ſouthern parts, for which commerce they were very advantageouſly ſituated, as lying near the Red Sea, where they had the port [p] Jodda, the moſt convenient for ſhipping in all thoſe ſtraits.

And in this courſe of life Mahomet was bred up under his uncle; and as ſoon as he was of a fit age, he was ſent with his camels into Syria. On his coming to Boſtra, a city on the confines of that country, while he was attending his uncle's factors in the vending of his wares in the public market-place, [q] he was there ſeen (ſay the Mahometans) by Bahira, a learned monk of that place, who immediately knowing him to be the great Prophet that was to come, preſſed with great earneſtneſs through the crowd unto him, and taking him by the

[o] Geograph. Nubienſis Sionita in Append. ad eandem, c. 7. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 127. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 98.

[p] Geographia Nubienſis clim. 2. Part. 5. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 100.

[q] Abul Feda. Alkodai. Al-Jannabi. Abul Faraghius, p. 101. Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 170. Gentii Notæ ad Muſſadinum Sadum, p. 536.

hand, there foretold of him all thoſe great things which afterwards came to paſs. The mark whereby he knew him (ſay they) was the prophetic light, which ſhone on his face. This prophetic [r] light, they tell us, God firſt placed on Adam, to be a ſign of the prophets that were to be born of him; that this light deſcending down to Abraham, was from him divided into two; one on the face of Iſaac, and the other on the face of Iſmael; that Iſaac's light was ſoon after manifeſted in the many prophets which appeared of his poſterity among the children of Iſrael; but that which was placed on Iſmael was ſuppreſſed, and lay hid till the coming of Mahomet, on whom it firſt appeared; and that Bahira ſeeing it on him, thereby knew him (ſay they) to be a great prophet ſent of God, who was ere long to manifeſt himſelf. But others [s] ſay, the mark by which he knew him, was the ſeal of his prophetic miſſion, ſtamped with a wonderful impreſs between his ſhoulders. But the truth is, Mahomet did not become acquainted with this Bahira, till many years after, when he traded for Cadigha in thoſe parts; as ſhall in its proper place be hereafter related.

Till the twenty-fifth year of his age, he continued in this employment under his uncle; but [t] then one of the chief men of the city dying, and his widow, whoſe name was Cadigha (to whom he left all his ſtock, which was of conſiderable value) wanting a factor to manage it for her, ſhe invited Mahomet into her ſervice; and having offered him ſuch advantageous conditions as he thought fit to accept of, he undertook this employment under her, and for three years traded for her at

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[r] Shareſtani Liber de generatione & Nutritura Mahometis. Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 53. & p. 168.

[s] Gentii Notæ ad Muſladinum Sadum, p. 536. Vide etiam librum de Generatione & Nutritura Mahometis.

[t] Abul Feda. Abul Faraghius, p. 102. Rodericus Toletanus, c. 2. Joannes Andreas, c. 1. Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 171.

Damaſcus, and other places; and in the management of this charge gave her that content, and ſo far inſinuated himſelf into her favour and good opinion thereby, that about the [u] 28th year of his age ſhe gave herſelf to him in marriage, being then forty years old; and from being ſervant, thus advanced him to be the maſter both of her perſon and eſtate; which having rendered him equal in wealth to the beſt men of the city, his ambitious mind began to entertain thoughts of [x] poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty over it. His anceſtors had for ſeveral deſcents been chiefs of the tribe; and his great grandfather Haſhem had made himſelf very conſiderable, not only at home, but alſo among his neighbours abroad; and had his father lived, the power and wealth of his family, after the death of his grandfather, would have deſcended to him, as being the eldeſt ſon; and after his deceaſe, to himſelf; and it was only his misfortune in being left an orphan during the life of his grandfather, that deprived him of all this. Theſe conſiderations meeting with an ambitious, aſpiring mind, ſoon put him upon deſigns of raiſing himſelf to the ſupreme government of his country; and being a very ſubtle crafty man, after having maturely weighed all ways and means whereby to bring this to paſs, concluded none ſo likely to effect it, as the framing of that impoſture which he afterwards vented with ſo much miſchief to the world. For the courſe of trade which he drove into Egypt, Paleſtine, and Syria, having made him well acquainted both [y] with Chriſtians and Jews, and ob-

[u] For ſhe died in the 50th year of the life of Mahomet. Elmac. lib. 1. c. 1. when ſhe had lived with him 22 years. Abul Faraghius, p. 102.

[x] Diſputatio Chriſtiani contra Saracenum, c. 3. Cuſani Cribratio Alcorani, lib. 3. c. 8. Ricardi Confutatio Legis Saracenicæ, c. 13.

[y] Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 1. Fortalit. Fid. lib. 4. Conſid. 1.

ſerving with what eagerneſs as well they, as the ſeveral ſects into which the Chriſtians of the Eaſt were then miſerably divided, did engage againſt each other; he from thence concluded, that nothing would be more likely to gain a party firm to him for the compaſſing of his ambitious ends, than the making of a new religion. And for ſuch a change he judged his citizens might be well diſpoſed, becauſe their traffic and frequent converſe with Chriſtians having much taken off their affection and zeal for that groſs idolatry which they had hitherto been addicted to, they were at that time from heathenism generally fallen [z] into Zendiciſm, an error among the Arabs near of kin to the Sadduciſm of the Jews, as denying providence, the reſurrection, and a future ſtate; which being in reality to be without any religion at all, they were the better fitted, while thus void of all other impreſſions of God, and his worſhip, to receive any he ſhould impoſe upon them; and therefore betaking himſelf to frame ſuch a religion as he thought might beſt go down with them, he drew up a ſcheme of that impoſture he afterwards deluded them with, which being a medley made up of Judaiſm, the ſeveral hereſies of the Chriſtians then in the Eaſt, and the old pagan rites of the Arabs, with an indulgence to all ſenſual delights, it did too well anſwer his deſign, in drawing men of all ſorts to the embracing of it.

But that he might not immediately, from that idolatry which he had hitherto practiſed with the reſt of his citizens, commence a preacher againſt it; and from his preſent courſe of life, which was very licentious and wicked, take upon him a character ſo unſuitable to it, as that of a prophet, without

[z] Liber Almoſtatraf. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 136. And Mahomet upbraids them with it in the 6th chapter of his Alcoran, and elſewhere in that book.

ſome previous change: in the 38th year of his age [a] he withdrew himſelf from his former converſation, and affecting an Eremetical life, uſed every morning to withdraw himſelf into a ſolitary cave near Mecca, called the cave of Hira, and there continue all day, exerciſing himſelf, as he pretended, in prayers, faſtings, and holy meditations; and there it is ſuppoſed he firſt had his conſults with thoſe accomplices, by whoſe help he made his Alcoran. On his return home at night, he uſed to tell his wife Cadigha of viſions which he had ſeen, and ſtrange voices which he had heard in his retirement. For he aimed firſt of all to draw her into the impoſture, knowing that thereby he ſhould ſecure his own family to his deſign (without which it would be dangerous for him to venture on it) and alſo gain in her an able partizan for him among the women. But ſhe rejecting theſe ſtories as vain fancies of his own diſturbed imagination, or elſe deluſions of the devil; at length he opened himſelf further unto her, and feigned a converſe with the angel Gabriel, which ſhe was alſo as backward to believe, till after ſeveral repeated ſtories to her of his revelations from the ſaid angel, ſhe [b] conſulted with a fugitive monk, then in their houſe, (of whom I ſhall hereafter ſpeak) who being in the plot, helped to confirm her in the belief of what Mahomet had communicated unto her, whereby being totally perſuaded that Mahomet was really called to that prophetic office which he pretended to, from thenceforth gave up her faith totally to him, and became his firſt proſelyte in this impoſture.

After he had carried this point, having now, by two years conſtantly practiſing a retired and auſtere life, gained, as he

[a] Liber Agar. Joannes Andreas de Confuſione Sectæ Mahometanæ, c. 1. Bartholomæus Edeſſenus. Bellonius, lib. 3. c. 1. Guadagnol. Tract. 2. c. 10. § 1.

[b] Theophanes. Cedrenus. Miſcella Hiſtoria. Zonaras.

thought, a ſufficient reputation of ſanctity for his deſign: in the 40th year of his age [c] he began to take upon him the ſtile of the apoſtle of God, and under that character to propagate the impoſture which he had been ſo long a projecting. But for four years he did it only in private among ſuch as he had moſt confidence in, clancularly inſinuating his deluſions into them. His firſt proſelyte, as has been ſaid, was Cadigha, his wife; his ſecond was Zayd Ebn Hareth his ſervant; and the third his couſin Ali, the ſon of Abu Taleb his uncle, who from hence was [d] uſed to ſtile himſelf the firſt of believers, not making any reckoning of the other two. [e] He tempted his ſervant Zayd by promiſing him his freedom; and accordingly, on his receiving his religion, he manumiſed him. And from hence it hath become a law among the Mahometans ever ſince, to make their ſlaves free, whenever they turn to their religion.

It is to be obſerved, that Mahomet began this impoſture about the ſame time that [f] the biſhop of Rome, by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, firſt aſſumed the title of Univerſal Paſtor, and thereon claimed to himſelf that ſupremacy which he hath been ever ſince endeavouring to uſurp over the church of Chriſt. And from this time both having conſpired to found themſelves an empire in impoſture, their followers have been ever ſince endeavouring by the ſame methods, that is, thoſe of fire and ſword, to propagate it among mankind; ſo that Antichriſt ſeems at this time to have ſet both his feet upon Chriſtendom together, the one in the Eaſt,

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[c] Abul Feda. Abul Faraghius, p. 102. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

[d] Sionita in Append. ad Geograph. Nubienſem, c. 8.

[e] Joannes Andreas, c. 1. Bellonius, lib. 3. c. 10. Guadagnol. Tract. 2. c. 10. § 1.

[f] Phocas made this grant, A. D. 606. which was the very year that Mahomet retired to his cave to forge that impoſture there, which, two years after, A. D. 608. he began to propagate at

and the other in the Weſt; and how much each hath trampled upon the church of Chriſt, the ages ever ſince ſucceeding have abundantly experienced.

Mahomet's fourth diſciple was [g] Abu Beker, who being one of the [h] richeſt men of Mecca, and a perſon of great wiſdom and experience, brought with him no ſmall help and reputation to his cauſe; and his example was ſoon followed by five others, [i] Othman Ebn Affan, Zobair Ebno'l Awam, Saad Ebn Abu Waccas, Abdorrahman Ebn Auf, and Abu Obeida Ebno'l Jerah, who were afterwards the principal generals of his armies, and the chief inſtruments under him, by whoſe help he eſtabliſhed both his empire, and his impoſture together in thoſe parts of the world.

After he had gotten theſe nine diſciples, ſome of which were the principal men of the city, he began [k] openly to publiſh his impoſture to the people of Mecca in the 44th year of his age, and publicly to declare himſelf a prophet ſent by God to reduce them from the error of paganiſm, and to teach them the true religion. The firſt doctrine that he propagated among them was, [l] that there was but one God, and that he only is to be worſhipped, and that [m] all idols were to be taken away, and their worſhip utterly aboliſhed; and that thoſe who ſay God hath [n] ſons or daughters, or that there are any other gods [o] aſſociated with him, are impious, and ought to be abhorred. By denying him ſons and aſſociates, he reflected on the Chriſtians for holding the doctrine of the Trinity, and that Jeſus

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[g] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Feda.
[h] Sionita in Append. ad Geographiam Nubienſem, c. 8.
[i] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 1.
[k] Abul Feda. Abul Faraghius, p. 102. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.
[l] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Alcoran, c. 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.
[m] Elmac. ib. & Alc. paſſim.
[n] Alc, c. 4. &c.
[o] Alc. c. 4, 5, &c.

Chriſt is the Son of God; the belief of both which he doth in many places in his Alcoran vehemently forbid. By denying him daughters, he condemned the idolatrous practice of the Arabians, [p] who worſhipped Allat, Menah, and Al Uzza, female deities, which they held to be the daughters of God, whoſe idols and temples he afterwards every where deſtroyed.

He did not pretend to deliver to them any new religion, but to revive the old one, which God firſt gave unto Adam; and when loſt in the corruption of the old world, reſtored it again by revelation to [q] Abraham, who taught it his ſon Iſmael their forefather; and that he, when he firſt planted himſelf in Arabia, inſtructed men in the ſame religion which he had received from Abraham; but their poſterity afterwards corrupted it into idolatry, and that God had now ſent him to deſtroy this idolatry, and again reſtore the religion of Iſmael their forefather. And therefore, according to his own doctrine, it is not unfitly called Iſmaeliſme by the Jews, although they call it ſo only out of contempt, by tranſpoſition of the letters from Iſlamiſme, the name whereby the Mahometans themſelves moſt love to call it, from the Arabic [r] word Salama, which in the fourth conjugation is Aſlama, *to enter into the ſtate of ſalvation*; hence Eſlam, *the ſaving religion*, and Muſlimon, or as we call it Muſleman, *he that believeth therein.*

He [s] allowed both the Old and the New Teſtament, and that Moſes and Jeſus Chriſt were prophets ſent from God; but that the Jews and Chriſtians had corrupted theſe holy writings, and that he was ſent to purge them from theſe corruptions, and reſtore the law of God to that purity in which

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[p] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 89, 90. Hottingeri Hiſt. Orient. lib. 1. c. 7.

[q] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 53. Alc. c. 3. &c.

[r] Golii. Lexic. in voce Salama, & Pocockius ubi ſupra.

[s] Alc. c. 3, 4, 5, &c.

it was firſt delivered; and therefore moſt of thoſe paſſages which he takes out of the Old and New Teſtament, are related otherwiſe by him in his Alcoran, than we have them in thoſe ſacred books. And in this certainly he acted much wiſer than our Socinians, who with him denying the holy Trinity and the divinity of our Saviour, yet ſtill allow the holy Scriptures, as now in our hands, to be genuine and uncorrupted, with which their doctrine is in the moſt manifeſt manner totally inconſiſtent. If they had with this their [t] maſter denied the ſcriptures which we now have, as well as Trinity, and the divinity of our Saviour, which are ſo evidently proved by them, and forged others in their ſtead, they might have made their impious hypotheſis look much more plauſible, than now it can poſſibly appear to be.

He pretended to receive all his revelations [u] from the angel Gabriel, and that he was ſent from God on purpoſe to deliver them unto him. And whereas he was ſubject to the falling ſickneſs, [x] whenever the fit was upon him, he pretended it to be a trance, and that then the angel Gabriel was come from God with ſome new revelations unto him, the ſplendor of whoſe appearance he not being able to bear, this cauſed him to fall into thoſe trances, in which the angel converſed with him, and delivered to him thoſe meſſages from God, which he was ſent to reveal unto him.

[t] The Socinians ſay juſt the ſame, and no more of Jeſus Chriſt, than Mahomet did before them, excepting only that he makes himſelf the greater of the two; and how many other things they agree in with him, and ſeem to have taken from him, may be ſeen in Hottinger's Hiſtoria Orientalis, lib. 2. c. 3. where he fully compares the doctrines of both together.

[u] Alc. c. 2. Joan. Andreas. c. 2. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 10. § 1. Liber Agar.

[x] Rodericus Toletanus, c. 6. Ricardi Confutatio, c. 13. Theophanes. Zonaras. Miſcel. Hiſtoria. Hottingeri Hiſt. Orient. lib. 1. c. 2. Fortalitium Fidei, lib. 4. Conſid. 2.

His pretended revelations he put into ſeveral chapters, the collection of which make up his Alcoran, which is the Bible of the Mahometans. The original of this book he taught them [y] was laid up in the archives of heaven, and that the angel Gabriel brought him [z] the copy of it chapter by chapter, according as occaſion required they ſhould be publiſhed to the people. Part of theſe he publiſhed at Mecca, before his flight from thence; and the other part at Medina, which he did after this manner. [a] When he had forged a new chapter, which he intended to publiſh, he firſt dictated it to his ſecretary, and then delivered the written paper to be read to his followers till they had learned it by heart; which being done, he had the paper brought to him again, which he laid up in a cheſt, which he called the cheſt of his apoſtleſhip. This he did, I ſuppoſe, in imitation of the ark or holy cheſt among the Jews, in which the authentic copy of their law was repoſited. This cheſt he left in the keeping of Haphſa, one of his wives, and out of it, after his death, was the Alcoran compiled, in the ſame manner as Homer's Rhapſodies were out of the looſe poems of that Poet. Abu Beker, who ſucceeded the Impoſtor, firſt made the collection.

[b] For when Moſailema, who in the laſt year of Mahomet ſet up for a prophet as well as he, had, in hopes of the ſame ſucceſs, in like manner compoſed an Alcoran, and publiſhed it in a book to his followers (as ſhall hereafter be related) Abu Beker thought it neceſſary to publiſh Mahomet's alſo in the ſame manner, and that not only in oppoſition to the new im-

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[y] Alc. c. 6. & c. 80.

[z] Alc. c. 25.

[a] Joannes Andreas, c. 2.

[b] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 2. Abul Feda. Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 362. Bartholomæus Edeſſenus. Golii præfatio at Suratam. Locman. Hinckelman. præfatio ad Alcoranum. Joannes Andreas, c. 2. Ricardi Confut. c. 13.

poſture, but alſo for the better ſupporting of that which he adhered to; and therefore having recourſe to Haphſa's cheſt, partly out of the papers which he found there, and partly out of the memory of thoſe who had learned them by heart, when the Impoſtor firſt delivered them unto them, he compoſed the book. For ſeveral of thoſe papers being loſt, and others ſo defaced as not to be read, he was forced to take in the aſſiſtance of thoſe who pretended to remember what the Impoſtor had taught them, to make up the matter, and under this pretence made uſe of their advice to frame the book, as he thought would beſt anſwer his purpoſe. When the work was completed, he cauſed the original to be laid up in the ſame cheſt, out of which he had compiled it, which he ſtill continued in the keeping of Haphſa, and then delivered out copies of it among his followers. But the book had not been long publiſhed, but ſo many various readings were got into the copies, and ſo many abſurdities diſcovered in the book itſelf, that [c] when Othman came to be Caliph, he found it neceſſary to call it in again to be licked into a better ſhape; and therefore having commanded all to bring in their copies, under pretence of correcting them by the original in the keeping of Haphſa, he cauſed them all to be burned, and then publiſhed that Alcoran a-new modelled by him, which we have, of which having ordered four copies to be written out fair, he depoſited the firſt of them at Mecca, and the ſecond at Medina; the third he ſent into Erack, or Chaldæa, and the fourth into Syria. The three firſt were after a while all loſt, but the laſt of them ſeveral ages after [d] was ſaid to be preſerved at Damaſcus in a moſque there, which had formerly been the church of St.

[c] Eutych. Tom. 2. p. 340. Abul Feda. Pococ. ib. Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 15. Joannes Andreas, c. 2.

[d] Bartholomæus Edeſſenus, p. 423.

John the Baptiſt. This [e] was done in the 32d year of the Hegira, An. 652. twenty-one years after the death of the Impoſtor; after which time the book underwent no other correction.

On his firſt appearing publicly as a prophet, [f] the people laughed at him for the ridiculouſneſs of his pretence; ſome called him a [g] ſorcerer, and a magician, others a liar, an impoſtor, and a teller of old fables; of which he often complains in his Alcoran; ſo that for the firſt year he prevailed nothing among them, or got any thing elſe by his publiſhing thoſe chapters of his Alcoran which he had then compoſed, or his preaching to them the doctrine of them, but ſcorn and contempt. But this did not diſcourage him from ſtill proceeding in his deſign, which he managed with great art. For he was a man of a [h] ready wit, and a very acceptable addreſs; he bore all affronts, without ſeeming to reſent any; and applied himſelf to all ſorts of people, without contemning the meaneſt; was very courteous both in giving and receiving viſits; the great men he ſoothed with flattering praiſes, and the poor he relieved with gifts and alms; and towards all men managed himſelf with that art of inſinuation (in which he exceeded all men living) that at length he ſurmounted all the difficulties, which ſo bold an impoſture in the firſt venting of it muſt neceſſarily be liable unto; and ſeveral other new proſelytes joined themſelves unto him, among whom was [i] Omar Ebno'l Chattab, who was one of his ſucceſſors, and then a conſiderable man in the city. His example was ſoon followed by ſeveral

[e] Eutychius, Tom. 2. p. 340.
[f] Joannes Andreas, c. 1.
[g] Alc. c. 15, 25, 37, 81, &c.
[h] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 1. Abunazar. Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. lib. 2. c. 4.
[i] Elmacin, lib. 1. cap. 1. Joannes Andreas, c. 1.

others; ſo that in the fifth year of his pretended miſſion, he had increaſed his party to the number of nine and thirty, and himſelf made the fortieth.

On his having made this progreſs, [k] ſeveral began to be alarmed at it. Thoſe that were addicted to the idolatry of their forefathers, ſtood up to oppoſe him as an enemy of their gods, and a dangerous innovator in their religion. But others, who ſaw further into his deſigns, thought it time to put a ſtop thereto, for the ſake of the public ſafety of the government, which it manifeſtly tended to undermine for the eſtabliſhing of tyranny over them, and therefore they combining together againſt him, intended to have cut him off with the ſword. But [l] Abu Taleb, his uncle, getting notice hereof, defeated the deſign, and by his power, as being chief of the tribe, preſerved him from all other like attempts as were afterwards framed againſt him. For although he himſelf perſiſted in the paganiſm of his anceſtors, yet he had that affection for the Impoſtor, as being his kinſman, and one that was bred up in his houſe, that he firmly ſtood by him againſt all his enemies, and would ſuffer no one to do him any hurt as long as he lived. And therefore being ſafe under ſo powerful a protection, he boldly went on to preach to the people in all public places of the city where they uſed to aſſemble, and publiſhed unto them more chapters of his Alcoran, in the order, as he pretended, they were brought him by the angel Gabriel. The chief ſubject of which was to preſs upon them the obſervance of ſome moral duties, the belief of the unity of God, and the dignity of his own pretended apoſtleſhip, in which indeed, beſides ſome heathen and Jewiſh rites which he retained, conſiſted the whole of his new forged religion.

[k] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 1. Joannes Andreas, c. 1.
[l] Elmacin, ibid.

The main arguments he made uſe of to delude men into this impoſture, were his promiſes and his threats, as being thoſe which eaſieſt work on the affections of the vulgar. His promiſes were chiefly of paradiſe, which he ſo cunningly framed to the guſt of the Arabians, as to make it totally conſiſt in thoſe pleaſures which they were moſt delighted with: For they being within the Torrid Zone, were, through the nature of the clime, as well as the exceſſive corruption of their manners, [m] exceedingly given to the love of women; and the ſcorching heat and dryneſs of the country making rivers of water, cooling drinks, ſhaded gardens, and pleaſant fruits, moſt refreſhing and delightful unto them; they were from hence apt to place their higheſt enjoyment in things of this nature. And therefore, to anſwer the heighth of their carnal deſires, he made the joys of heaven, which he propoſed for a reward to all thoſe that ſhould believe in him, to conſiſt totally in theſe particulars. For he tells them in many places in his Alcoran, 'that they ſhall enter into pleaſant gardens, [n] where 'many rivers flow, and many curious fountains continually 'ſend forth moſt pleaſing ſtreams, nigh which they ſhall re-'poſe themſelves on moſt delicate beds adorned with gold and 'precious ſtones, under the ſhadow of the trees of paradiſe, 'which ſhall continually yield them all manner of delicious 'fruits; and that there they ſhall enjoy moſt beautiful women, 'pure and clean, having black eyes, and a countenance always 'freſh and white as poliſhed pearls, who ſhall not caſt an eye 'on any other but themſelves, with whom they ſhall enjoy the

[m] Ammianus Marcellinus de Saracenis, lib. 14. c. 4. Incredibile eſt quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque diſſolvitur ſextus.

[n] Alcoran, c. 3. c. 4. c. 36. c. 37. c. 43. c. 47. c. 78. c. 90, &c. Joannes Andreas, c. 9. Ricardi Confut. c. 8. Cantacuzenus Orat. 2. § 11. Hottingeri Hiſt. Orient. l. 2. c. 4. Pocockii Miſcellanea, c. 7. Diſputatio Chriſtiani. a. 26, & 28. Belloniu. lib. 3. c. 9.

'continual pleaſures of love, and ſolace themſelves in their 'company with amorous delights to all eternity, drinking 'with them moſt delicious liquors, and moſt ſavoury and plea- 'ſant wines, without being ever intoxicated or overcharged 'by them, which ſhall be adminiſtred to them by beautiful 'boys, who ſhall be continually running round their beds to 'ſerve them up unto them in cups of gold, and glaſſes fixed 'on diamonds.' And as thus he framed his promiſes of re- ward in the life hereafter, as might beſt ſuit with the ſenſual appetites and deſires of thoſe to whom he propoſed them; ſo, on the contrary, he deſcribed the puniſhment of hell, which he threatened to all that would not believe in him, to conſiſt of ſuch torments as would appear to them the moſt afflicting and grievous to be borne. 'As [o] that they ſhould drink no- 'thing but boiling and ſtinking water, nor breathe any thing 'elſe but exceeding hot winds,' (things moſt terrible in Ara- bia) 'that they ſhould dwell for ever in continual fire exceſ- 'ſively burning, and be ſurrounded with a black hot and ſalt 'ſmoke, as with a coverlid; that they ſhould eat nothing but 'briars and thorns, and the fruits of the tree Zacon, which 'ſhould be in their bellies like burning pitch.' In the propoſ- ing of theſe promiſes and threats to the people he was very frequent and ſedulous, making them to ring in their ears on all occaſions, whereby he failed not of his end in alluring ſome, and affrighting others into the ſnare he laid for them.

And that he might omit nothing whereby to work on their fear, which is uſually the moſt prevalent paſſion of the igno- rant, he terrified them with the threats of grievous puniſh- ments in this life, as well as in that which is to come, if they would not hearken unto him. And to this end [p] he did ſet

[o] Alcoran, c. 7. c. 37. c. 43. c. 44. c. 47. c. 50. c. 74. c. 77. c. 78. c. 90, &c.

[p] Alc. c. 6. c. 7. c. 11, &c. Joannes Andreas, c. 12.

forth unto them on all occaſions, what terrible deſtructions had fallen upon the heads of ſuch as would not be inſtructed by the prophets, that were ſent before him. How the old world was deſtroyed by water, for not being reformed at the preaching of Noah; and Sodom by fire from heaven, for not hearkening to Lot when ſent unto them. How the Egyptians were plagued for deſpiſing Moſes; and how Ad and Thamod, two ancient tribes of the Arabs, were totally extirpated for the ſame reaſon. His ſtories of the two laſt were fables of his own invention, which he related unto them after this manner; that [q] Ad the grandſon of Aram, the ſon of Sem, planted himſelf after the confuſion of languages in the Southern parts of Arabia, where his poſterity falling into idolatry, the prophet Hud (whom the commentators on the Alcoran will have to be Heber) was ſent unto them to reclaim them unto the true worſhip; but they not hearkening unto him, God ſent a violent hot wind, which in ſeven days time deſtroyed them all, excepting only the prophet, and ſome few who were reformed by him. As to Thamod, his [r] ſtory was, that they were an ancient tribe of the Arabs, dwelling on the confines of Syria, and that on their revolt to idolatry, God ſent to them the prophet Saleh; that on their demand of a miracle to teſtify his miſſion, he cauſed a rock to bring forth a camel in the ſight of them all; that they notwithſtanding in contempt wounded the camel, and that thereupon God ſent terrible thunders, which in three days time deſtroyed them all, excepting Saleh, and ſome few who believed on him. And the like fable he alſo told them of [s] Chaib, another prophet of the ancient Arabs, ſent to the tribe of Madian, and how

[q] Alc. c. 7. c. 11, &c. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 37.
[r] Alcoran, c. 7. c. 11. c. 26, &c. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 37. Hott. Hiſt. Orient. lib. 1. c. 3.
[s] Alc. c. 7. c. 11. c. 26, &c.

that tribe was in like manner deſtroyed by thunder, for not hearkening unto him. For the ſake of theſe ſtories (which he was very frequent in inculcating into the people, and very often repeats in his Alcoran) thoſe who believed not on him, called him [t] a *teller of old fables*; but notwithſtanding, they wrought upon the fears of others, and by this and other ſuch artifices, he ſtill went on to increaſe his party, to which two of his uncles, [u] Hamza and Al Abbas, at length joined themſelves. But the reſt of his uncles approved not of his deſigns, and although Abu Taleb ſtill continued to befriend him, becauſe of the affection which he bore him, the other nine had not this regard to him, but joined with his enemies, and oppoſed him all they could, as a man that under the falſe maſk which he had put on, carried on dangerous deſigns to the prejudice of his country.

But that which gravelled him moſt, was, that his oppoſers demanded to ſee a miracle from him. 'For' ſaid they, [x] 'Moſes and Jeſus, and the reſt of the prophets, according to thy 'own doctrine, worked miracles to prove their miſſion from 'God; and therefore if thou be a prophet, and greater than 'any that were ſent before thee, as thou boaſteſt thyſelf to 'be, [y] do thou work the like miracles to manifeſt it unto us. 'Do thou make the dead to riſe, the dumb to ſpeak, and the 'deaf to hear; or elſe do thou cauſe fountains to ſpring out 'of the earth, and make this place a garden adorned with 'vines and palm-trees, and watered with rivers running 'through it into divers channels; or elſe let us ſee come down 'from heaven ſome of thoſe puniſhments which thou threat-'eneſt us with. Or do thou make thee an houſe of gold, 'adorned with jewels and coſtly furniture; or let us ſee the

[t] Alcoran, c. 25, &c.
[u] Joannes Andreas, c. 1.
[x] Alcoran, c. 2. c. 6, &c. Bidawi ad Alcorani cap. 12.
[y] Alcoran, c. 17, &c.

'book thou wouldeſt have us believe to come from heaven, 'deſcend down to us from thence legible in our eyes, or the 'angel which thou telleſt us doth bring it unto thee, and then 'we will believe in thy word.' This objection he endeavoured to evade by ſeveral anſwers. One [z] while he tells them, he is only a man ſent to preach to them the rewards of paradiſe, and the puniſhments of hell. At another time, [a] that their predeceſſors contemned the miracles of Saleh, and the other prophets, and that for this reaſon God would work no more among them. And a while after, that thoſe [b] whom God had ordained to believe, ſhould believe without miracles, and thoſe whom he had not ordained to believe, ſhould not be convinced, though all thoſe miracles ſhould be wrought in their ſight, which they required; and that therefore they were totally needleſs. But this not ſatisfying, as being a plain confeſſion that he wanted that power of miracles, which all other prophets had to prove their miſſion, ſeveral of thoſe that were his followers departed from him, of which he much complains in his Alcoran. And therefore finding that this would not do, on his coming to Medina, and having there taken the ſword in hand, and gotten an army to back his cauſe, he began to ſing another note. For his doctrine then was, [c] that God had ſent Moſes and Jeſus with miracles, and yet men would not be obedient to their word; and therefore he had now ſent him in the laſt place without miracles, to force them by the power of the ſword to do his will: and purſuant hereto [d] he forbad his diſciples to enter into any further diſputes about his religion; but inſtead thereof he commanded them to fight for it, and deſtroy all thoſe who ſhould contradict his law,

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[z] Alcoran, c. 17. [a] Alc. ib. [b] Alcoran, c. 6.
[c] Richardi Confutatio, c. 7. Cantacuzeni Apologia, 4. & Orat. 1. § 11. Alcoran, c. 2. c. 3. c. 4, &c.
[d] Alc. c. 4. Cantacuzeni Orat. 1. § 12.

promiſing great rewards in the life to come, to ſuch as ſhould take up the ſword in this cauſe, and the crown of martyrdom to all thoſe who ſhould die fighting for it. And upon this head, ſome of the Mahometan doctors argue very ſubtilly. For [e] ſay they, the prophets of God are of divers ſorts, according to the divers attributes of his divine nature, which they are ſent to ſhew forth. That Jeſus Chriſt was ſent to manifeſt the righteouſneſs, the power and knowledge of God; that he ſhewed forth the righteouſneſs of God in being impeccable; his knowledge, in that he knew the ſecrets of mens hearts, and foretold things to come; and his power, in doing thoſe miraculous works which none elſe but God could. That Solomon was ſent to manifeſt the wiſdom, the glory, and the majeſty of God; and Moſes, his providence, and his clemency: none of which carrying with them a power to force men to believe, miracles were neceſſary in their miſſions to induce them thereunto. But Mahomet was a prophet, ſent principally to ſhew forth the fortitude of God by the power of the ſword, which being of itſelf alone ſufficient to compel all men into the faith, without any other power accompanying it, for this reaſon, ſay they, Mahomet wrought no miracles, becauſe he had no need of them, the power of the ſword, with which he was ſent, of itſelf alone ſufficiently enabling him to accompliſh his miſſion, for forcing men to believe therein. And from hence it hath become the univerſal doctrine of the Mahometans, that their religion is to be propagated by the ſword, and that all of them are bound to fight for it. And for this reaſon [f] it hath been a cuſtom among them for their preachers, while they deliver their ſermons, to have a drawn ſword placed by them, to denote thereby, that the doctrine which

[e] Ahmed Ebn. Zin. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 10. § 11.
[f] Cantacuzeni Orat. § 11. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 5. § 3.

they teach them, was with the ſword to be defended and propagated by them.

However, it is not to be denied, but that there are ſeveral miracles reckoned up, which Mahomet [g] is ſaid to have wrought; as, that he did cleave the moon in two; that trees went forth to meet him; that water flowed from between his fingers; that the ſtones ſaluted him; that he fed a great company with a little food; that a beam groaned at him; that a camel complained to him; that a ſhoulder of mutton told him of its being poiſoned; and ſeveral others. But thoſe who relate them, are only ſuch who are reckoned among their fabulous and legendary writers. Their learned [h] doctors renounce them all, as doth Mahomet himſelf, who in ſeveral places in his [i] Alcoran owns that he wrought no miracles. But when they are preſſed how without miracles they can prove his miſſion, their common anſwer is; that inſtead of all miracles is the Alcoran. For [k] that Mahomet, who was an illiterate perſon, that could neither write nor read, or that any man elſe by human wiſdom alone ſhould be able to compoſe a book ſo excellent in eloquence, and ſo excellent in doctrine, as they will have that to be, is what they will not admit to be poſſible; and therefore they allege the excellency of the book for the truth of all contained therein, and will have that to be a proof equivalent to the miracles of all the prophets that went before him, to manifeſt that it came from God.

[g] Abul Pharaghius, p. 104. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 187, & 188. Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. lib. 2. c. 6. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 2. § 2.

[h] Abul Pharaghius, p. 104. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 191, 192, &c. Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. lib. 2. c. 6.

[i] Alc. c. 6, &c.

[k] Al Gazali. Sepher Cozri. Bidawi. Ahmed Ebn Edris. Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. lib. 2. c. 6. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 191, 192, &c.

And on this [l] the Impoſtor himſelf often inſiſts in his Alcoran, challenging in ſeveral places of it all men and devils by their united ſkill to compoſe another book like that in eloquence and inſtruction, or elſe any one chapter that can be compared in excellency with the meaneſt chapter therein: which they taking for granted that both together cannot do, will have this to be a moſt clear manifeſtation beyond all contradiction, that this book could come from none other but God himſelf, and that Mahomet from whom they received it, was his meſſenger to bring it unto them.

As to the particulars in this argument alleged, it muſt be allowed, that the Alcoran, bating the folly, the confuſedneſs and incoherency of the matter contained therein, is as to the ſtile and language the ſtandard of elegancy in the Arab tongue; and as to Mahomet, that he was in truth, what they ſay, an illiterate barbarian [m] that could neither write nor read. But this was not ſo much a defect in him, as in the tribe of which he was, with whom it was the cuſtom as to all manner of literature, to continue [n] in the ſame ignorance with which they came out of their mothers bellies, unto their lives end. And therefore at the time when Mahomet firſt ſet up for a prophet, there was not any one man of Mecca that could either write or read, excepting only [o] Warakah, a kinſman of Cadigha's, who having firſt turned Jew, and afterwards Chriſtian, had learned to write Arabic in Hebrew letters. And for this reaſon the men of Mecca were called [p] the *illiterate*, in oppo-

[l] Alcoran, c. 2. c. 10. c. 17, &c.

[m] Alc. c. 7. Joannes Andreas, c. 2. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. 156. Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 12. Richardi Confutatio, c. 3.

[n] Ebnol Athir Shareſtani. Al. Motarrezi in libro Mogreb. Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 157.

[o] Al. Bochari. Pocock. ib.

[p] Shareſtani. Pocock. Spec. Arab. Hiſt. p. 156.

ſition to the people of Medina, who being the one half Chriſtians, and the other half Jews, were able both to write and read; and therefore were called [q] the *people of the book*. And from them ſeveral of Mahomet's followers, after he came to Medina, learned to read and write alſo, which ſome of them had begun to learn before of Baſhar the Cendian [r] who having ſojourned at Anbar, a city of Erack, near Euphrates, there learned the art; from whence coming to Mecca, and marrying the ſiſter of Abuſophian, he ſettled there, and from him the men of Mecca are firſt ſaid to have received the art of letters. Among the followers of Mahomet, Othman was the greateſt proficient herein, which advanced him afterwards to [s] be ſecretary to the Impoſtor. But for want of paper at firſt, as in a place where there was never before any occaſion for it, they were forced to make uſe [t] of the ſpade-bones of ſhoulders of mutton, and of ſhoulders of camels, to write on; which was a device anciently made uſe of by other tribes of the Arabs, who had letters, but wanted traffick to accommodate them with more convenient materials for this purpoſe; and therefore their books in which their poems, and other matters they delighted in were written, [u] were only ſo many of thoſe ſpade-bones tied together upon a ſtring. This Baſhar afterwards became one of Mahomet's diſciples, and followed him in his wars, till poiſoned at Chaibar, as ſhall be hereafter related.

But theſe particulars being thus allowed, that the Alcoran of the Mahometans is of ſo elegant ſtile, and the ſuppoſed author thereof ſuch a rude and illiterate barbarian; it will be here aſked, who were the aſſiſtants by whoſe help this book

[q] Shareſtani & Pocock. ib. Hottin. Hiſt. Orient. lib. 1. c. 1.
[r] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 157.
[s] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 1. Barthholomæus Edeſſenus.
[t] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 157.
[u] Ebnol Athir. Pocock. ib.

was compiled, and the impoſture framed? And there will be the more reaſon to aſk this, becauſe the book itſelf contains ſo many particulars of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religion, as neceſſarily imply the authors of it to be well ſkilled in both; which Mahomet, who was bred an idolater, and lived ſo for the firſt forty years of his life, among a people totally illiterate, cannot be ſuppoſed to be. But this is a queſtion not ſo eaſily to be anſwered, becauſe the nature of the thing required it ſhould be concealed. The Mahometan writers, who believed in the Impoſtor, as they will allow nothing of this, ſo to be ſure will ſay little of it, and the Chriſtians who abhorred his wickedneſs, are apt to ſay too much. For it was uſual with them, as it is with all other contending parties, to ſnatch at every ſtory which would diſparage the religion they were againſt, and believe it right or wrong, if it would ſerve their purpoſe this way. And from hence it hath proceeded, that we have ſo many fabulous and ridiculous accounts, both of Mahomet and his impoſture, go current among us, which ſerve only to the expoſing of us to the laughter of the Mahometans, when related among them. And beſides, the ſcene of this impoſture being at leaſt ſix hundred miles within the country of Arabia, amidſt thoſe barbarous nations, who all immediately embraced it, and would not afterward permit any of another religion, ſo much as to live among them; it could not at that diſtance be ſo well ſearched into by thoſe who were moſt concerned to diſcover the frauds of it, and therefore an exact account cannot be expected in this particular. However, that I may give all the ſatisfaction herein, that I am able, I ſhall here lay together whatſoever I can find in any credible author concerning it, and give the beſt judgment hereof, that the matter will admit.

That Mahomet compoſed his Alcoran by the help of others, was a thing well known at Mecca, when he firſt broached his

impoſture there, and it was often flung in his teeth by his oppoſers, as he himſelf more than once complaineth. In the 25th chapter of the Alcoran, his words are; 'they ſay, that 'the Alcoran is nothing but a lie of thy own invention, and 'others have been aſſiſting to thee herein.' Where the commentators ſay, the perſons here meant, [x] were the ſervants of a certain ſword-ſmith at Mecca, who were Chriſtians, with whom Mahomet was uſed often to converſe for the better informing of himſelf from them in the Old and New Teſtament. And from hence it is, that [y] Bellonius tells us, that Mahomet found at Mecca two Chriſtians, who had with them copies of the Old and New Teſtament, and that he was much helped by them in the compoſing of his Alcoran. But this is too open work for ſo ſecret a deſign. They that upbraided him with his being aſſiſted by others, meant not thoſe whom he publicly converſed with, but the private confederates, whom he ſecretly made uſe of at home, in the framing of the whole impoſture, and the writing for him that book, which he pretended was brought to him from heaven by the angel Gabriel. And what he hath in another place of his Alcoran, doth particularly point at one of thoſe, who was then looked upon to have had a principal hand in this matter. For in the ſixteenth chapter his words are; 'I know they will ſay, that a man 'hath taught him the Alcoran; but whom they preſume to 'have taught him is a Perſian by nation, and ſpeaketh the 'Perſian language. But the Alcoran is in the Arabic tongue, 'full of inſtruction and eloquence.' Now, who this Perſian was, Friar Richard, in his Confutation of the Mahometan Law, helps us to underſtand. For in his thirteenth chapter

[x] Liber Agar. Guadagnol, Tract. c. 10. § 1. Joannes Andreas de Confuſione Sectæ Mahometanæ, c. 1.

[y] Lib. 3. c. 2.

of that tract he tells us, that Mahomet being an illiterate perſon, he had for his helper in the forging of his impoſture, among others, one Abdia Ben Salon, a Perſian Jew, whoſe name he afterwards changed, to make it correſpond with the Arabic dialect, into [z] Abdollah Ebn Salem: and Cantacuzenus, and Cardinal Cuſa ſay the ſame thing. And [a] moſt others that write of this impoſture, make mention of him as the chief architect made uſe of by Mahomet in the framing of it. And that he was the Perſian pointed at in this paſſage of the Alcoran I have laſt mentioned, the ſame Friar Richard in the ſixth chapter of the ſame tract expreſsly telleth us. And he is the ſame perſon whom Elmacinus calleth [b] Salman the Perſian, who by his ſkill in drawing an intrenchment at the battle of the Ditch, ſaved Mahomet and all his army, where otherwiſe he muſt have neceſſarily been overpowered by the number of his enemies, and totally ruined. For he was a very cunning crafty fellow, and ſo thoroughly ſkilled in all the learning of the Jews, that he had commenced [c] Rabbi among them. And therefore from him Mahomet ſeems to have received whatſoever of the rites and cuſtoms of the Jews he hath ingrafted into his religion. For this making a very conſiderable part of it, and many of the particulars being drawn from the abſtruſer parts of the Talmudic learning, this neceſſarily ſhews ſo able an helper to have been in the whole contrivance. And what Johannes Andreas, an Alfacki, or a doctor of the Mahometan

[z] *Abdiah* is the ſame in Hebrew that *Abdollah* is in Arabic, *i. e. the ſervant of God*, and *Ben* the ſame with *Ebn*, *i. e. the Son*.

[a] Shickardi Taric in Procemio, p. 54. Forbeſius Inſtruct. Hiſt. Theolog. lib. 4. c. 3. Spanhemius in Introductione ad Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. ad § 7. c. 6.

[b] Bidawi, an eminent commentator on the Alcoran, ſays, 'the Perſian meant in the place above mentioned to have helped Mahomet, was Salman.'

[c] Dialogus inter Mahometem & Abdollam.

law, turned Chriſtian, writes of him, further clears this matter. [d] For he tells us from authentic teſtimonies of the Arab writers, in which he was thoroughly verſed, that this Abdollah Ebn Salem (whom he, or rather his interpreter, corruptly calls Abdala Celen) was for ten years together the perſon by whoſe hand all the pretended revelations of the Impoſtor were firſt written, and therefore no doubt he was a principal contriver in the forging of them. There is extant in the end of the Latin Alcoran, publiſhed by Bibliander, a tract tranſlated out of Arabic into Latin by Hermanus Dalmata, which by way of dialogue between Mahomet and this Abdollah, lays before us a great many of the fooleries of the Mahometan religion; which tract helps us to correct the name which is in Friar Richard's tract very corruptly written, as being only a tranſlation at the third hand. For that tract of Friar Richard's which we now have, is no other than a tranſlation from the Greek copy of Demetrius Cydonius, who tranſlated it into that language, for the uſe of the emperor Cantacuzenus, from the original Latin which is now loſt.

Beſides this Jew, the Impoſtor had alſo a Chriſtian monk for his aſſiſtant; and the many particulars in his Alcoran relating to the Chriſtian religion, plainly prove him to have had ſuch an helper. Theophanes, Zonaras, Cedrenus, Anaſtaſius, and the author of the Hiſtoria Miſcella, tell us of him, without giving him any other name than that of a Neſtorian monk. But the author of the Diſputation againſt a Mahometan, which is epitomized in Vincentius Bellovacenſi's Speculum Hiſtoricum, and from thence printed at the end of Bibliander's Latin Alcoran, [e] calls him Sergius; and from thence is it, that he hath been ever ſince ſo often ſpoken of by that name among the Weſtern writers. But in the Eaſt he is totally

[d] De Confuſione Sectæ Mahometanæ, c. 2. [e] C. 13.

unknown by it, he being never, as much as I can find, made mention of by that name by any of their writers. For all there that ſpeak of this monk, call him Bahira; and Friar Richard, [f] who in the year of our Lord 1210, went to Bagdad on purpoſe to ſearch into the myſtery of Mahometiſm, by reading their books, and on his return wrote that judicious Confutation of it, which I have afore-mentioned [g] tells us of this Bahira as an aſſiſtant to Mahomet in the forging of his impoſture; and ſo doth alſo [h] Cantacuzenus, Bartholemæus Edeſſenus, and the other Greek author of the Confutation of Mahomet, publiſhed by Le Moyne: but not one of them ſays any thing of Sergius, ſo that it is plain [i] that Sergius and Bahira are only two different names of the ſame perſon. He was a monk of Syria, of the ſect of the Neſtorians. The Mahometans will have it, that he firſt took notice of Mahomet, while a boy, after that prophetic manner as is before related; but according to that account he would have been too old to act his part in this impoſture ſo many years after. The truth of the matter is, Mahomet did not fall acquainted with him till a long while after, when he was projecting his wicked deſign in his head, in order to the better forming of which, being very deſirous to acquaint himſelf with the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions, he was very inquiſitive in examining into them, as he met with thoſe that could inform him. And in one of his journeys into Syria, either at Boſtra [k] as ſome ſay, or [l] at Jeruſalem as others, lighting on this Bahira, and receiving great ſatisfaction from him in many of thoſe points, which he

[f] Cantacuzeni Orat. 1. contra Mahometem.
[g] Cap. 6. & c. 13.
[h] Orat. 1. contra Mahometem.
[i] Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. Part 1. c. 6.
[k] Abul Pharaghius. Abul Feda. Al Kodai. Al Jannabi.
[l] Georgius Monachus in Diſputatione cum Abuſalama.

desired to be informed in, did thereon contract a particular friendship with him. And therefore not long after, [m] this monk for some great crime being excommunicated, and expelled his monastery, fled to Mecca to him; and being there entertained in his house, became his assistant in the framing of that imposture, which he afterwards vented, and continued with him ever after; till at length the Impostor having no farther occasion of him, to secure the secret, [n] put him to death. If Sergius were the name which he had in his monastery, Bahira was that which he afterwards assumed in Arabia, and by which he hath ever since been mentioned in those Eastern parts, by all that there write or speak of him. The [o] word in the Arabic language signifieth a *camel*, which, after some extraordinary merit, according to the usage of the ancient Arabs, had his ears slit, and was turned forth from the rest of the herd, at free pasture, to work no more. And no doubt this monk having told the tale of his expulsion from his monastery so much to his advantage, as to make it believed at Mecca to be drawn upon him by that which was reckoned there as meritorious, had from thence this name given him, as suiting that notion which they had of his condition among them.

As to his other helpers, if he had any such, what is said of them is so uncertain, and that so little, as is not material here to relate. We may suppose from the very nature of the design (it being to impose a cheat upon mankind) that he made as few as possible conscious to it; and the two above mentioned

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[m] Theophanes, Zonaras, Richardi Confutatio, c. 13. Fortalitium Fidei lib. 4. Confid. 1.

[n] Richardi Confutatio, c. 13. Confutatio Mahometis &c. Edita per Le Moyne.

[o] Golii Lexicon. Arab. Pocockii Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 330. Hottin. Hist. Orient. lib. 1. c. 7.

being ſufficient for his purpoſe, it doth not appear likely that he admitted any more into the ſecret of it. Neither indeed is there any more room in it for another to act. For his religion being made up of three parts, whereof one was borrowed from the Jews, another from the Chriſtians, and the third from the heathen Arabs, Abdollah furniſhed the firſt of them, Bahira the ſecond, and Mahomet himſelf the laſt; ſo that there was no need of any other help to complete the impoſture.

I know there are many other particulars go current of this matter, both as to the coining of the forgery, and alſo the manner of the firſt propagating of it; as that the Impoſtor [p] taught a bull to bring him the Alcoran on his horns, in a public aſſembly, as if it had this way been ſent to him from God; that he bred up pigeons to come to his ears, to make ſhow thereby, as if the Holy Ghoſt converſed with him; and many other ſuch ſtories, which being without any foundation or likelihood of truth, I paſs them over as idle fables, not to be credited; although I find ſome very great men have been too eaſy to ſwallow them; as particularly [q] Scaliger, [r] Grotius, and [s] Sionita, have that of the pigeons. Such tricks as theſe would have been eaſily ſeen through by the Arabians, they being men naturally of as ſubtle and acute parts as any in the world. And therefore Mahomet never ſo much as offered at any thing of this nature among them; but diſclaiming all miracles, thereby avoided the neceſſity of hazarding his deſign upon any ſuch open cheats, where it would be ſo liable to be totally blaſted by a diſcovery. The whole of this impoſture was a thing of extraordinary craft, carried on with all the cunning

[p] In præfatione ad Diſputationem Chriſtiani. Purchas Pilgrimage, lib. 3. c. 3. Fortalit. Fid. lib. 4. Confid. 3.
[q] In notis ad Sphæram Manilii.
[r] De veritate Chriſtianæ Religionis, lib. 6. c. 5.
[s] In Appendice ad Geographiam Nubienſem, c. 7.

and caution imaginable. The framing of the Alcoran (wherein lay the main of the cheat) was all contrived at home in as ſecret a manner as poſſible, and nothing hazarded abroad, but the ſucceſs of preaching it to the people. And in doing of this, no art or cunning was wanting to make it as effectual to the end deſigned as poſſible: and therefore whatever ſtories are told of this matter, that are inconſiſtent with ſuch a management, we may aſſure ourſelves are nothing elſe but fables fooliſhly invented by ſome zealous Chriſtians to blaſt the impoſture, which needed no ſuch means for its confutation.

But to go on with the ſeries of our hiſtory: in the eighth year of his pretended miſſion, his party growing formidable at Mecca, the [t] city paſſed a decree, whereby they forbad any more to join themſelves unto him. But this availed nothing to his hurt, as long as his uncle Abu Taleb lived. But [u] he dying within two years after, and the chief government of the city, on his death, falling into the hands of Abu Sophian, of the houſe of Ommia, then one of his moſt violent oppoſers, his enemies laid hold of this advantage to renew their oppoſition againſt him, and proſecuted it with that ſucceſs, that they ſoon put a ſtop to the further progreſs of his impoſture at Mecca. For their party, after he had now loſt his protector, and they became thus headed againſt him, ſoon grew to that ſtrength, and appeared with that violence on all occaſions to oppoſe his deſigns, that for fear of them no more new proſelytes durſt join themſelves unto him; and many of thoſe who had afore declared for him, having done it for no other end, but to join with a party where they thought they might beſt make their intereſt, as ſoon as they ſaw the hopes which they had of his prevailing, to be again blaſted by this oppoſition, which they judged too ſtrong for him to weather, again drew

[t] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. [u] Elmacin. ibid.

back and appeared no more with him. And therefore Mahomet ſeeing his hopes of carrying his deſign at Mecca thus in a manner totally cruſhed, began to look abroad where elſe he might fix. That which he drove at, was to have gained ſuch a party there, as might be ſtrong enough to overpower the reſt, and ſubject the whole city to him; and then, after having poſſeſſed himſelf of ſuch a poſt, from thence to have armed his diſciples for the gaining him that empire over the reſt of the Arabs, which he projected. And to this purpoſe was it, that he ſo often inculcated it into them, that his doctrine was to be propagated by the ſword, and that all that would receive the faith which he preached, muſt fight for it. But now ſeeing no likelihood of accompliſhing this at Mecca, he ſet his thoughts on work how to gain ſome other town, where to arm his party for this deſign. And therefore his uncle Abbas living moſt an end at [x] Tayif, (another town of Hagiaz, at ſixty miles diſtance from Mecca towards the eaſt) and having a great intereſt there [y] he took a journey thither, under his wing to propagate his impoſture in that place, in order to the making of himſelf maſter of it. But after a month's ſtay, having not been able, with all his endeavour to gain ſo much as one proſelyte among them, he again returned to Mecca to make the beſt of his party there, and wait ſuch farther advantages as time and opportunity might offer him for the accompliſhing of what he deſigned. And now Cadigha, his wife, being [z] dead, after ſhe had lived two and twenty years with him; to ſtrengthen himſelf the more, he took two other wives

[x] For which reaſon it hath been ever ſince, even to this day, called *Abbas Beladi, i. e. the town of Abbas*, Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 100.

[y] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

[z] Elmacin. Abul Pharaghius. Abul Feda, &c.

in her ſtead, [a] Ayeſha, the daughter of Abu Beker; and Sewda, the daughter of Zama; and a while after he added to them [b] Haphſa, the daughter of Omar; whereby making himſelf ſon-in-law to three of the principal men of his party, he did by that alliance the more firmly tie them to his intereſt. Ayeſha was then [c] but ſix years old, and therefore he did not bed her till two years after, when ſhe was full eight years old. For it is uſual in thoſe hot countries, [d] as it is all India over, which is in the ſame clime with Arabia, for women to be ripe for marriage at that age, and alſo bear children the year following.

In the twelfth year of his pretended miſſion, is placed the *Meſra*, that is, his famous night-journey from Mecca to Jeruſalem, and from thence to heaven, of which he tells us in the 17th chapter of his Alcoran. For the people calling on him for miracles to prove his miſſion, and he being able to work none, to ſolve the matter, he invents this ſtory of his journey to heaven; which muſt be acknowledged to have miracle enough in it, by all thoſe who have faith to believe it. And yet it being believed by all that profeſs the Mahometan religion, as a main article of their faith, and as ſuch ſet down in all the books of their authentic traditions, how abſurd ſoever it be, ſince my deſign is to give as full an account as I can of this man's impoſture, it obligeth me to relate it. His relation of it is as followeth:

[e] At night as he lay in his bed with his beſt beloved wife

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[a] Elmacin. Abul Pharaghius. Abul Feda, &c.

[b] Gentii Notæ ad Muſladinum Sadum, p. 568.

[c] Joannes Andreas, c. 12. Sionita in Appendice ad Geographiam Nubienſem, c. 8. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 10. § 12.

[d] Thevenot's Travels, Part 3. lib. 1. c. 49.

[e] Rodericus Toletanus, c. 5. Joannes Andreas, c. 8. Richardi Confutatio Legis Saracenicæ. c. 1. & c. 7. Cantacuzeni Orat. 4. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 2. § 2. Bellonius, l. 3. c. 7. Bo-

Ayeſha, he heard a knocking at his door, whereon arifing, he found there the angel Gabriel, with ſeventy pair of wings expanded from his ſides, whiter than ſnow, and clearer than cryſtal, and the beaſt Alborak ſtanding by him, which they ſay is the beaſt on which the prophets uſed to ride, when they were carried from one place to another, upon the execution of any divine command. Mahomet deſcribes it to be a beaſt as white as milk, and of a mixed nature between an aſs and a mule, and alſo of a ſize between both, and of that extraordinary ſwiftneſs, that his paſſing from one place to another, was as quick as that of lightning; and from hence it is that he hath the name of Alborak, that word ſignifying lightning in the Arabic tongue. As ſoon as Mahomet appeared at the door, the angel Gabriel moſt kindly embracing him, did with a very ſweet and pleaſing countenance ſalute him in the name of God, and told him that he was ſent to bring him unto God into heaven, where he ſhould ſee ſtrange myſteries, which were not lawful to be ſeen by any other man, and then bid him get upon the Alborak. But the beaſt, it ſeems, having long lain idle from the time of Chriſt till Mahomet (there having been no prophet in all that interval to employ him) was grown ſo reſty and ſkittiſh, that he would not ſtand ſtill for Mahomet to get up upon him, till at length he was forced to bribe him to it, by promiſing him a place in paradiſe; whereon having quietly taken him on his back, the angel Gabriel leading the way with the bridle of the beaſt in his hand, he carried him from Mecca to Jeruſalem in the twinkling of an eye. On his coming thither, all the prophets and ſaints departed, appeared at the gate of the temple to ſalute

charti Hierozoic. Part 2. lib. 6. c. 13. Liber Agar. Zamachſhari, & Bidawi in Commentariis ad c. 17. & c. 53. Alcorani. Fortalit. Fid. lib. 4. Confid. 4.

him, and from thence attending him into the chief oratory, deſired him to pray for them, and then departed. Whereupon Mahomet with the angel Gabriel going out of the temple, found there a ladder of light ready fixed for them, which they immediately aſcended, leaving the Alborak there tied at a rock till their return.

On their arrival at the firſt heaven, the angel Gabriel knocked at the gate, and having informed the porter who he was, and that he brought Mahomet the friend of God with him by the divine command, the gates were immediately opened, which he deſcribes to be of a prodigious largeneſs. This firſt heaven, he tells us, was all of pure ſilver, and that he there ſaw the ſtars hanging from it by chains of gold, each being of the bigneſs of mount Noho, near Mecca in Arabia; and that in theſe ſtars angels kept watch and ward for the guard of heaven, to keep off the devils from approaching near it, leſt they ſhould over-hear and know what was there done. On his firſt entering into this heaven, he ſaith he met an old decrepit man, and this was our firſt father Adam, who immediately embraced him, giving God thanks for ſo great a ſon, and then recommended himſelf to his prayers. As he entered further, he ſaw a multitude of angels of all manner of ſhapes; ſome in that of men, others in that of birds, and others in that of beaſts of all manner of ſorts. And among thoſe who appeared in the ſeveral ſhapes of birds, he there ſaw a cock of colour as white as ſnow, and of ſo prodigious a bigneſs, that his feet ſtanding upon the firſt heaven, his head reached up to the ſecond, which was at the diſtance of five hundred years journey from it, according to the rate as we uſually travel here on earth. But others among them, as they relate this matter from their prophet, hyperbolize much higher concerning it, telling us, that the head of this cock reacheth up through all the ſeven heavens, as far as the throne of God, which is above

ſeven times higher; and in the deſcription of him, ſay, that his wings are all over decked with carbuncles and pearls, and that he extends the one of them to the eaſt, and the other to the weſt, at a diſtance proportionable to his heighth. Concerning all theſe, the Impoſtor tells us the angel Gabriel informed him, that they were angels which did from thence intercede with God for all living creatures on the earth. That thoſe who interceded for men, had there the ſhape of men; that thoſe who interceded for beaſts, the ſhape of beaſts; and thoſe who interceded for birds, the ſhape of birds, according to their ſeveral kinds. And that as to the great cock, that he was the chief angel of the cocks; that every morning God ſinging an holy hymn, this cock conſtantly joined with him in it by his crowing, which is ſo loud, that all hear it that are in heaven and earth, except men and fairies, and then all the other cocks that are in heaven and earth crow alſo. But when the day of judgment draws near, then God ſhall command him to draw in his wings, and crow no more, which ſhall be a ſign, that that day is at hand, to all that are in heaven and earth, excepting ſtill men and fairies, who being afore deaf to his crowing, ſhall not then be ſenſible of his ſilence from it. And this cock the Mahometans look on to be in that great favour with God, that whereas it is a common ſaying among them, that there are three voices which God always hears; they reckon the firſt the voice of him that is conſtant in reading the Alcoran; the ſecond, the voice of him that early every morning prayeth for the pardon of his ſins; and the third, the voice of this cock when he croweth, which they ſay is ever moſt acceptable unto him.

All this ſtuff of the cock, Abdollah helped Mahomet to, out of the Talmudiſts. For it is all borrowed from them, with ſome little variation only, to make it look not totally the ſame. For in the tract Bava Bathra of the Babyloniſh Tal-

mud, we have a ſtory of ſuch a prodigious bird, called [f] Ziz, which ſtanding with his feet upon the earth, reacheth up unto the heavens with his head, and with the ſpreading of his wings darkeneth the whole orb of the ſun, and cauſeth a total eclipſe thereof. This bird the Chaldee Paraphraſt on the [g] Pſalms ſays, is a cock, which he deſcribes of the ſame bigneſs, and tells us that he crows before the Lord. And the Chaldee Paraphraſt on [h] Job alſo tells us of him, and of his crowing every morning before the Lord, and that God giveth him wiſdom for this purpoſe. What is farther ſaid of this bird of the Talmudiſts, may be ſeen in Buxtorf's Synogoga, Judaica, cap. 50. and in Purchas' Pilgrimage, lib. 2. cap. 20.

From this firſt heaven, the Impoſtor tells us, he aſcended up into the ſecond, which was at the diſtance of five hundred years journey above it, and this he makes to be the diſtance of every one of the ſeven heavens each above the other. Here the gates being opened unto him, as in the firſt heaven, at his entrance he met Noah, who rejoicing much at the ſight of him, recommended himſelf to his prayers. In this heaven, which was all made of pure gold, the Impoſtor tells us he ſaw twice as many angels as in the former, and among them one of a prodigious greatneſs. For his feet being placed on this ſecond heaven, his head reached to the third.

From this ſecond heaven he aſcended up into the third, which was made of precious ſtones; where at the entrance he met Abraham, who alſo recommended himſelf to his prayers. And there he ſaw a vaſt many more angels than in the former heaven, and among them another great one of ſo prodigious a

[f] Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum in voce.
[g] Pſal. 50. v. 11. & Pſal. 80 v. 14.
[h] Ad cap. 3. v. 7. & ad cap. 38. v. 36. & ad cap. 39. v. 16.

ſize, that the diſtance between his two eyes was as much as ſeventy thouſand days journey, according to our rate of travelling here on earth. But here Mahomet was out in his mathematics; for the diſtance between a man's eyes being in proportion to his heighth but as one to ſeventy two, according to this rate, the heighth of this angel muſt have been near fourteen thouſand years journey, which is four times as much as the heighth of all his ſeven heavens together, and therefore it is impoſſible ſuch an angel could ever ſtand within any one of them. But notwithſtanding this, here he placeth him, and in his deſcription of him, tells us, that he had before him a large table, in which he was continually writing in, and blotting out; and that having aſked the angel Gabriel of him, he was informed by him that this was the angel of death, who continually writes into the table, which he had before him, the names of all that are to be born, and there computes the days of their life, and as he finds they have completed the number aſſigned them, again blots them out, and that whoever hath his name thus blotted out by him, immediately dies.

From hence he aſcended up into the fourth heaven, which was all of emerald; where at the entrance he met Joſeph the ſon of Jacob, who recommended himſelf to his prayers. And in this heaven he after ſaw a vaſtly larger number of angels than in the former, and among them another great angel, as high as from this fourth heaven to the fifth, who was continually weeping, and making great lamentation and mourning; and this, the angel Gabriel told him, was for the ſins of men, and the deſtruction which they did thereby bring upon themſelves.

From hence he aſcended up into the fifth heaven, which was made of adamant, where he found Moſes, who recommended himſelf to his prayers; and there alſo he ſaw a much greater number of angels than in the former heaven.

From hence he aſcended up into the ſixth heaven, which was all of carbuncle, where he found John the Baptiſt, who recommended himſelf to his prayers. And here he alſo ſaw the number of angels much-increaſed beyond what he had ſeen in any of the former heavens.

From hence he aſcended up into the ſeventh heaven, which was all made of divine light, and here he found Jeſus Chriſt; where it is to be obſerved, he alters his ſtile. For he ſaith not, that Jeſus Chriſt recommended himſelf to his prayers, but that he recommended himſelf to Jeſus Chriſt, deſiring him to pray for him; whereby he acknowledgeth him certainly to be the greater. But it was his uſage through the whole ſcene of his impoſture, thus to flatter the Chriſtians on all occaſions. Here he ſaith he found a much greater number of angels than in all the other heavens beſides, and among them one extraordinary angel having ſeventy thouſand heads, and in every head ſeventy thouſand tongues, and every tongue uttering ſeventy thouſand diſtinct voices at the ſame time, with which he continued day and night inceſſantly praiſing God.

The angel Gabriel having brought him thus far, told him, that it was not permitted him to go any farther, and therefore directed him to aſcend up the reſt of the way to the throne of God by himſelf, which he ſaith he performed with great difficulty, paſſing through waters and ſnow, and many other ſuch difficult paſſages, till he came where he heard a voice ſaying unto him, 'O Mahomet, ſalute thy Creator;' from whence aſcending higher, he came into a place, where he ſaw a vaſt extenſion of light of that exceeding brightneſs, that his eyes could not bear it, and this was the habitation of the Almighty, where his throne was placed, on the right ſide of which, he ſays, God's name and his own were written in theſe Arabic words, *La ellah ellallah Mohammed reſul ollah*, i. e. *there is no god but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.* Which is the

Creed of the Mahometans; which words he alſo ſays, he found written upon all the gates of the ſeven heavens, which he paſſed through. Being approached to the preſence of God, as [i] near as within two bow-ſhots, he tells us he ſaw him ſitting on his throne, with a covering of ſeventy thouſand vails before his face; that on his drawing thus near, in ſign of his favour, he put forth his hand, and laid it upon him, which was of that exceeding coldneſs, that it pierced to the very marrow of his back, and he could not bear it. That after this, God entering into a very familiar converſe with him, revealed unto him a great many hidden myſteries, made him underſtand the whole of his law, and gave him many things in charge concerning his inſtructing men in the knowledge of it; and in concluſion, beſtowed on him ſeveral privileges above the reſt of mankind. As that he ſhould be the perfecteſt of all creatures; that at the day of judgment he ſhould be honoured and advanced above all the reſt of mankind; that he ſhould be the redeemer of all that believe in him; that he ſhould have the knowledge of all languages; and laſtly, that the ſpoils of all whom he ſhould conquer in war, ſhould belong to him alone. And then returning, he found the angel Gabriel tarrying for him in the place where he left him; who conducting him back again through all the ſeven heavens the ſame way that he brought him, did ſet him again upon the Alborak, which he left tied at Jeruſalem; and then taking the bridle in his hand, conducted him back to Mecca in the ſame manner as he brought him thence, and all this within the ſpace of the tenth part of one night.

On his relating this extravagant fiction to the people the next morning after he pretended the thing happened, it was

[i] Alcoran, c. 53.

received by them as it deſerved, with a general hoot; [k] ſome laughed at the ridiculouſneſs of the ſtory, and others taking indignation at it, cried out ſhame upon him for telling them ſuch an abominable lie, and by way of reproach, bid him aſcend up to heaven by day-light there immediately before them all, that they might ſee it with their eyes, and then they would believe him. And even of his diſciples, a great many were ſo aſhamed of him for this ſtory, that [l] they left him thereon; and more would have followed their example, but that [m] Abu Beker came in to put a ſtop to the defection, by vouching the truth of all that Mahomet had related, and profeſſed his firm belief to the whole of it; for which reaſon he had ever after the title [n] of Aſſadick, that is, the *Juſt*, becauſe of the extraordinary merit of his faith in this particular. And whoever becomes a Mahometan, muſt have the ſame faith alſo; this ſtory being as firmly believed by all of that religion, as any thing in the goſpel is by us Chriſtians. Only there has been this queſtion moved among them, whether it [o] were only a viſion of the night, or a real journey. Thoſe that would ſolve the abſurdity of it, would have it only be a viſion, and that moſt of the particulars of it are to be reſolved into figure and allegory; but the major vote hath carried it for a real journey; and to this ſenſe it being now pinned down, there is no one among them that dares in the leaſt to doubt thereof.

The impoſture was never in greater danger of being totally blaſted, than by this ridiculous fable, ſuch a ſtumbling-block

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[k] Cantacuzen. Orat. 4. Richardi Confutatio Legis Saracenicæ, c. 14. Hott. Hiſt. Orient. lib. 2. c. 6.

[l] Joannes Andreas, c. 8. Hott. ib. Friar Richard, and Cantacuzenus ſay, they were a thouſand that left him on this occaſion.

[m] Hott. Hiſt. Orient. lib. 2. c. 6.

[n] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 2. dicit cum ſic vocatum eſſe propter verificationem Meſræ.

[o] Hottingeri Hiſt. Orient. lib. 2. c. 6.

did it lay even before thoſe of his own party, and therefore he needed to interpoſe the utmoſt of his art to ſupport the credit of it; for which purpoſe he not only got his friend Abu Beker to be a voucher to it; but alſo brings in God himſelf in two places of his Alcoran bearing witneſs thereto, that is, in the chapter of the children of Iſrael, and in the chapter of the Star; in the laſt of which he makes God to ſwear by the ſtar to the truth of it, that Mahomet related nothing in this ſtory, but what he had ſeen; that he was admitted to approach him in the higheſt heavens, within the length of two bow-ſhots; and had ſeen the great wonders of the Lord, and had many hidden myſteries there revealed unto him; and that therefore men ought not to diſpute any more againſt him concerning it.

But how ridiculous ſoever the ſtory may appear, Mahomet had his deſign therein, beyond barely telling ſuch a miraculous adventure of himſelf to the people. Hitherto he had only given them the Alcoran, which was his written law, and had owned himſelf no farther than barely the meſſenger of God to deliver it unto them, telling them that it was brought to him by the angel Gabriel; and that as he received it, ſo he publiſhed it unto them, without offering at any comment, explication, or additional interpretation of his own concerning it; and therefore when gravelled with any objection from his adverſaries againſt it (as he often was while at Mecca, where he was continually teazed and perplexed with ſome or other of them) his uſual refuge was in this ſaying, that the Alcoran was [p] God's book, and that he only could explain the meaning of it; and it was wiſdom in him at firſt not to aſſume any farther. But now learning from his friend Abdollah, that the Jews beſides the written law dictated by God himſelf, had alſo

[p] Alcoran, c. 3, &c. Richardi Confutatio, c. 17. Cantacuzeni Orat. 1. § 3. & 5. Ecchelenſis Eutych. vindicat. p. 383.

another law called the oral law, and given with it (as they pretend) to Moſes himſelf while in the mount, and from him delivered to the elders of the people, and from them down to after ages by oral tradition; and underſtanding alſo that this law was in as great authority with them, as the other, and that it had its whole foundation in the ſayings and dictates which were pretended to be from Moſes, and preſerved by the memories of thoſe who converſed with him; he had a deſire for the future to advance his authority to the ſame pitch, and make all his ſayings and dictates go for oracles among his Muſſlemans, as well as thoſe which were pretended to be from Moſes, did among the Jews. And for this end chiefly was it that he intended this ſtory of his journey to heaven. For could he once make it believed among his followers, that he had there ſuch a converſe with God as Moſes had with him in the mount, and was there fully inſtructed by him in the knowledge of all divine truths, as this ſtory pretends he was, he thought he ſhould therein have a ſufficient foundation to build this pretence upon, and might by a juſt conſequence from it, claim the whole which he aimed at; and he was not miſtaken herein. For how ridiculous ſoever the thing at firſt appeared, yet in the reſult he carried his point, and obtained all that by the project, which he propoſed to himſelf from it. For the whole of it at length going down with thoſe who had ſwallowed the reſt of his impoſture, from that time all his ſayings became looked on as ſacred truths brought down from heaven, and every word which at any time dropped from ſo enlightened a perſon (as this ſtory ſuppoſeth him to be) as well as every action which he did, any way relating to his religion, were all carefully obſerved by them; which being after his death all [q]

[q] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 298, & 299. Joannes Andreas. c. 3. Bellonius, lib. 3. c. 4. Hottingeri Bibliotheca Ori-

collected together from the memoirs of thoſe who converſed with him, make up thoſe volumes of traditions from him, which they call the Sonnah, which are with the Mahometans the ſame in reſpect of the Alcoran, that the oral law among the Jews is in reſpect of the written. And as among the Jews there are many books, in which this oral law is recited, explained and digeſted under ſeveral heads and chapters by many different authors among their Rabbies, who have employed their pains and ſtudies in this matter; ſo alſo are there the like number of books among the Mahometans concerning their Sonnah, [r] in which all the ſayings and doings of Mahomet, relating to his religion, as alſo the conſtitutions of the ſeniors, (that is, of the firſt Caliphs that ſucceeded him, eſpecially the four firſt) concerning the ſame, are collected, explained, and digeſted under ſeveral heads or common places, by the compilers of them, which books make up the ſum of their theology, as well ſpeculative as practical; and in them indeed is contained the whole of their religion, as now practiſed among them. And therefore ſo much of the impoſture which I now undertake to give an account of, being in theſe traditions, and they all founded upon this journey of Mahomet to heaven, where he pretended to have been inſtructed in them by God himſelf; this ſufficiently juſtifieth my being thus long in relating his fabulous ſtory of it.

But how fabulous and abſurd ſoever this ſtory be, the Socinians, who have in ſo many things copied after this Impoſtor, have not ſtuck to borrow this alſo from him. For the many texts of ſcripture which tell us of our Saviour's coming to us from the heavens above, manifeſtly proving his exiſtence there

entalis, c. 2. Ecchelenſis Eutych. vindicat. c. 27. Gentii Notæ ad Muſladinum Sadum, p. 578.

[r] Ebnol Athir, Ebnol Kahai, Poocock. ib.

in his divinity, before the aſſuming of his humanity here on earth (which they impiouſly deny), to ſolve the matter, they have by juſt ſuch another ſtory as this of Mahomet, carried him to heaven, a little before the taking of his miniſtry upon him, there to be inſtructed by God himſelf in the doctrines which he was to teach; and refer all that is ſaid in holy ſcripture of his coming from heaven, to this his journey thither of their own feigning. Which ſhews how miſerable a ſhift they are reduced to, for the ſupport of that impiety which they aſſert. For take but this from them, and it muſt all neceſſarily fall to the ground.

After his publiſhing this fiction, and the revolt of ſo many of his diſciples, as happened thereon, his adverſaries grew in ſtrength ſo faſt upon him, that he could no longer protect thoſe who adhered to him, as he had hitherto done; but ſome of them, to the number of about an hundred perſons, having made themſelves more than ordinary obnoxious to the government, by ſome practices againſt it, [s] were forced to fly from Mecca to Nagaſh king of Ethiopia, where Mahomet's letters, which they carried with them, obtained their protection, though the men of Mecca ſent two of their principal citizens after them in an embaſſy to that king, to demand them to be delivered unto them. And Mahomet, with the reſt that tarried behind, found it very difficult for them to ſubſiſt any longer there. For after the departure of ſo many of his faithfulleſt adherents into this exile, this farther diminution of his number, made him ſtill leſs able to withſtand theſe inſults which his adverſaries were continually on all occaſions making upon him. But what he loſt at Mecca, he got at Medina,

[s] Abul Feda. Ebnol Athir, Kamus, Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 172. Ecchelenſis Eutych. Vindicat. c. 27. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 53.

then called Yathreb [t] a city lying at the northern end of Hagiuz, two hundred and ſeventy miles diſtant from Mecca, which being inhabited, [u] the one part by Jews, and the other part by heretical Chriſtians, it ſeems theſe two different parties not well agreeing in the ſame city, the factions and feuds that aroſe between them, drove one of the parties to Mahomet; and on the thirteenth year [x] of his pretended miſſion, there came to him from thence ſeventy-three men, and two women, who embraced his impoſture, and ſwore fealty unto him, whereon he choſe twelve out of them, whom he retained a while with him at Mecca to inſtruct them in his new religion, and then ſent them back again to Yathreb, to be as his twelve apoſtles, there to propagate it in that town; in which they laboured with that ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time they drew over a great party of the inhabitants to embrace the impoſture; of which Mahomet receiving an account, reſolved to retire thither, as finding Mecca now grown too hot for him. For the chief men of the city, finding that Mahomet's indefatigable induſtry and cunning ſtill kept up his party, do what they could to ſuppreſs it, reſolved without farther delay to ſtrike at the root, and prevent the farther ſpreading of the miſchief [y] by cutting off him that was the chief author of it. Of which he having received full and early intelligence, and finding no other way to avoid the blow but to fly from it, ordered all his party, whom he could prevail with to accompany him in his baniſhment, [z] ſecretly in the evening to withdraw out of the

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[t] Geographia Nubienſis Clim. 2. Part. 5. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 98.

[u] Shareſtani Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 4. Joannes Andreas, c. 1. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 137.

[x] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

[y] Alcoran, c. 8. Joannes Andreas, c. 1. Bidawi Comment. ad Alcorani, c. 8. Abunazar. Hottin. Hiſt. Orient. l. 2. c. 5.

[z] Elmacin. ib. Abul Pharaghius, Abul Feda, &c.

city, and retire to Yathreb. And when he had ſeen them all gone, he and [a] Abu Beker followed after, leaving only Ali behind, who having ſet in order ſome affairs that detained him, came to them on the third day after. As ſoon as his flight was publicly known, parties were ſent out to purſue after him, and he difficultly eſcaped them [b] by hiding himſelf for ſome time in a cave, till the heat of the purſuit was over.

On the [c] 12th day of the month, which the Arabs call the former Rabia, that is on the 24th of our September, he came to Yathreb, and was there received with great acclamations by the party which called him thither. But whether this party were of the Jews, or the Chriſtians, I find not ſaid in any author; only if we may conjecture from the great kindneſs which at this time he expreſſed towards the Chriſtians, and the implacable hatred which he ever after bore the Jews, it will from hence appear, that the former were the friends that invited him thither, and the latter the oppoſite party that were enemies unto him. And what he ſaith of each of them in the fifth chapter of his Alcoran, which was one of the firſt which he publiſhed after his coming to Yathreb, may ſeem fully to clear the matter. For his words there are, 'thou ſhalt find 'the Jews to be very great enemies to the true believers; and 'the Chriſtians to have great inclination and amity towards 'them, for they have prieſts and religions that are humble, 'who have eyes full of tears when they hear mention of the 'doctrine which God hath inſpired into thee, becauſe of their 'knowledge of the truth, and ſay, Lord we believe in thy law, 'write us in the number of them who profeſs thy unity. Who

[a] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 1. Clenardi Epiſt. lib. 1. p. 52.

[b] Alcoran, c. 9. Bidawi in Comment. ad illud Caput, & ad cap. 16. Hottingeri Hiſt. Orient. lib. 2. c. 5.

[c] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 15. Ahmed Ebn Yuſeph. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab, p. 174.

'ſhall hinder us from believing in God, and the truth wherein 'we have been inſtructed? We deſire with paſſion, O Lord, 'to be in the number of the juſt.' By this we may ſee what a deplorable decay the many diviſions and diſtractions which then reigned in the Eaſtern church, had there brought the Chriſtian religion into, when its profeſſors could ſo eaſily deſert it, for that groſs impoſture which an illiterate barbarian propoſed unto them. And indeed it is no ſtrange thing for men, when once they have deſerted the orthodox profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith, to flee from one error to another, till at length, by ſeveral changes in religion, they change the whole of it away, and give themſelves up to total impiety. For we ſee it daily practiſed among us.

On Mahomet's firſt coming to [d] Yathreb, he lodged in the houſe of Chalid Abu Job, one of the chief men of the party that called him thither, till he had built himſelf an houſe of his own, which he immediately ſet about, and adjoining thereto alſo erected a moſque at the ſame time for the exerciſe of his new-invented religion; and it is recorded as an inſtance of his injuſtice, that he [e] violently diſpoſſeſſed certain poor orphans, the children of an inferior artificer a little before deceaſed, of the ground on which it ſtood, and ſo founded this firſt fabrick for his worſhip, with the like wickedneſs as he did his religion. And having thus ſettled himſelf in this town, he continued there ever after, to the time of his death. For which reaſon it thenceforth loſing the name of Yathreb, became called [f] Medinato'l nabi, i. e. *the city of the prophet*, and ſimply Medina, by which name it hath been ever ſince called, even unto this day.

[d] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Feda, &c.
[e] Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 4.
[f] Geographia Nubienſis Clim. 2. part 5. Appen. ad eandem cap. 8. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 98. Abul Feda, Alkamus, &c.

From this flight of Mahomet, the [g] Hegira, which is the æra of the Mahometans, begins its computation. It was firſt appointed by Omar the third emperor of the Saracens, on this [h] occaſion. There happened a conteſt before him about a debt of money: the creditor had from his debtor a bill, wherein he acknowledged the debt, and obliged himſelf to pay it on ſuch a day of ſuch a month. The day and the month being paſſed, the creditor ſues his debtor before Omar for the money. The debtor acknowledged the debt, but denied the day of payment to be yet come, alleging the month in the bill mentioned, to be that month in the year next enſuing; but the creditor contended that it was that month in the year laſt paſt; and for want of a date to the bill, it being impoſſible to decide this controverſy, Omar called his council together, to conſider of a method how to prevent this difficulty for the future; where it was decreed, that all bills and other inſtruments ſhould ever after have inſerted into them the date both of the day of the month, and alſo of the year, in which they were ſigned. And as to the year, he having conſulted with Harmuzan, a learned Perſian then with him, by his advice ordained all computations to be made for the future from the flight of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina. And for this reaſon this æra was called the Hegira, which in the Arabic language ſignifieth a *flight*. It takes its beginning from the ſixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord ſix hundred twenty and two. And ever ſince this decree of Omar (which happened in the eighteenth year of it) it hath conſtantly been uſed among the Mahometans, in the ſame manner as the computation from the incarnation of our Lord Chriſt is with us Chriſ-

[g] Afraganus, cap. 1. Golii Notæ ad eundem, p. 53. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. & c. 3. Eutychius. Abul Pharaghius, Abul Feda, &c. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 172, 173.

[h] Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. Part 1. c. 10.

tians. The day that Mahomet left Mecca, was on [j] the firſt of the former Rabia, and he came to Medina on the [k] twelfth of the ſame month. But the Hegira begins two months before, from the firſt of Moharram. For that being the firſt month of the Arabian year, Omar would make no alteration as to that, but anticipated the computation fifty-nine days, that he might begin his æra from the beginning of that year in which this flight of the Impoſtor happened, which gave name thereto. Till the appointing of this æra, it was uſual with the Arabians to compute from the laſt great war they were engaged in. And at Mecca the æra of the Elephant, and the æra of the Impious War, being thoſe which they computed by all the time of Mahomet, I ſhall give an account of them.

The æra of the Elephant had its beginning from [l] a war which the inhabitants of Mecca had with the Ethiopians. It happened in that very year in which Mahomet was born, on this occaſion. About fifty years before the time of Mahomet, there reigned over the Homerites, an ancient nation of the Arabs, lying to the ſouth of Mecca, a certain king called [m] Du Nawas, who having embraced the Jewiſh religion, perſecuted the Chriſtian, which had been planted there for at leaſt three hundred years before, and did the utmoſt he was able to extirpate it out of his dominions. For which purpoſe he made him a deep ditch or furnace in the earth, and after having heated it with fire, cauſed all thoſe of the Chriſtian religion to be thrown thereinto, who would not renounce their faith, and turn to Judaiſm. During which perſecution the

[j] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 52, & 55.

[k] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

[l] Al Kodai, Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 34. Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 173, & 174.

[m] Abul Feda, Al Maſudi, Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. part 1. c. 10. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 62.

[n] Arabian writers tell a very memorable ſtory of a Chriſtian woman, who being brought to the furnace with a ſon of hers very young, whom ſhe carried in her arms, was at the ſight of the fire ſo affrighted, ſhe drew back, as if ſhe would rather chooſe to comply with the perſecutors, and renounce her faith, than thus periſh for it; at which the child cried out. 'fear 'not, mother, to die for your religion, for then after this fire 'you ſhall never feel any other.' Whereon the mother being again encouraged, went on and completed her martyrdom. This perſecution drove ſeveral of the Homerite Chriſtians to fly into Ethiopia for ſafety; where making their complaints to the king, who was a Chriſtian, of the cruel perſecution of Du Nawas againſt them, prevailed with him to ſend Aryat his uncle with an army of ſeventy thouſand men for their relief: [o] who having overthrown Du Nawas in battle, purſued him ſo hard that he forced him into the ſea, where he periſhed. Whereon the kingdom of the Homerites fell into the hands of the Ethiopians, and Aryat governed it twenty years. After him ſucceeded Abraham Al Aſhram, who having built a famous [p] church at Sanaa, the chief city of the Homerites, abundance of Arabians reſorted thither to the Chriſtian worſhip, ſo that the temple of Mecca began to be neglected, and the heathen worſhip there, hitherto performed with ſo great concourſe from all parts of Arabia, to grow into decay: at which the men of Mecca were exceedingly diſturbed. For they had the chief of their ſupport from the great reſort of pilgrims who came thither every year from all parts of Arabia

[n] Al Maſudi Ecchelenſis, ib.

[o] Al Jannabi, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. part 2. c. 1. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 63.

[p] Abul Feda, Al Jannabi, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Zamachſhari, Bidawi, & Jallalani in Commentariis ad cap. 105. Alcorani. Pococ. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 64. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 54.

to worſhip their heathen deities, and perform their annual ſolemn ceremonies unto them. And therefore to expreſs their indignation againſt this church, which ſo much threatened their main intereſt with total ruin, ſome of them went to Sanaa, and getting privately into the church, did in a moſt contumelious manner defile it all over with their excrements. At which Abraham was ſo incenſed, that to revenge the affront, he ſwore the deſtruction of the temple of Mecca: and accordingly to effect it, marched thither with a great army, and beſieged the city. But not being able to compaſs his end, (I ſuppoſe for want of proviſion for his numerous forces in ſo deſart and barren a country) he was forced to march back again with loſs and diſgrace; and becauſe he had ſeveral elephants in his army, for that reaſon this was called, *the War of the Elephant*; and the æra by which they reckoned from it, *the Æra of the Elephant*. And to this war it is that the 105th chapter of the Alcoran, called the *Chapter of the Elephant*, doth relate; where Mahomet tells us, 'how the Lord treated them 'that came mounted upon elephants to ruin the temple of 'Mecca, and that he defeated their treacherous deſign, and 'ſent againſt them great armies of birds, which threw down 'ſtones upon their heads, and made them like corn in the 'field, which is deſtroyed and trodden down by the beaſts.' Where [q] the commentators of the Alcoran tell us, that to preſerve the temple of Mecca from the intended deſtruction, God ſent againſt the Ethiopians great armies of birds, each of which carried three ſtones, the one in the mouth, and the other two in the two feet, which they threw down upon their heads; and that thoſe ſtones, although not much bigger than peaſe, were yet of that weight, that falling upon the helmet, they pierced that and the man through; and that on each of

[q] Zamachſhari, Bidawi, Jallalani, &c.

them was written the name of him that was to be ſlain by it; and that the army of the Ethiopians being thus deſtroyed, the temple of Mecca was ſaved. For Mahomet having reſolved to continue that temple in its former reputation, and make it the chief place of his new invented worſhip, as it had been before of the heathen, coined this miracle among many others, on purpoſe to gain it the greater veneration in the minds of his deluded followers, although there might be ſeveral then alive, who were able to give him the lie thereto, it being but fifty four years before the beginning of the Hegira, that this war happened. For it was the very year [r] in which Mahomet was born. But perchance this chapter came not forth in public, till Othman's edition of the Alcoran, which was many years after, when all might be dead that could remember any thing of this war, and the fable thereby out of danger of being contradicted by any of thoſe who knew the contrary.

The æra of the Impious War began from the twentieth year of the æra of the Elephant, and had its name from a terrible war, which was then waged between [s] the Koraſhites and Kaiſailanites, in which Mahomet firſt [t] entered the ſchool of war under his uncle Abu Taleb, being then twenty years old. It was called the Impious War, becauſe it proceeded to that heat and fury, that they carried it on even in thoſe months, when it was reckoned impious among them to wage war. For it was [u] an ancient conſtitution through all Arabia,

[r] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 54. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 64

[s] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 174. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 54.

[t] Al Kodai, Al Kamus, &c. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 174. in Margin.

[u] Al Jauhari. Al Shareſtani. Al Kamus, Cazwini, Golius in Notis ad Alfraganum, p. 4, 5, & 9. Pococ. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 174, & 176.

to hold four months of the year ſacred, in which all war was to ceaſe: and theſe were the months of Moharram, Rajeb, Dulkaada, and Dulhaga; the firſt, the ſeventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth of the year, in which it was obſerved with the greateſt religion among all their tribes, to uſe no act of hoſtility againſt each other; but with how great fury ſoever one tribe might be engaged againſt another (as was uſual among them) as ſoon as any of thoſe ſacred months began, they all immediately deſiſted, and taking off the heads from their ſpears, and laying aſide all other weapons of war, had intercourſe, and intermingled together, as if there had been perfect peace and friendſhip between them, without any fear of each other; ſo that if a man ſhould meet on thoſe months him that had ſlain his father, or his brother, he durſt not meddle with him, how violent ſoever his hatred or revenge might prompt him to it. And this was conſtantly obſerved among all the ancient Arabs, till broken in this war, which from hence was called the Impious War. And in this impious war [x] Mahomet having firſt taken arms, gave a preſage thereby to what impious purpoſe he would uſe them all his life after.

But the Hegira being that, which all of the Mahometan religion have, ever ſince the conſtitution of Omar, computed by; the ſubject matter of the hiſtory which I now write, obligeth me henceforth to make uſe of this æra through the remaining part of it. But becauſe it computeth by lunary years only, and not by ſolary, it is requiſite that I here inform the reader of the nature of thoſe years, and the manner how the Hegira computeth by them. Anciently the Arabs, although [y] they always uſed lunary years, yet by intercalating

[x] Al Kodai, Al Kamus, Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 174.
[y] Al Jauhari, Ebnol Athir, Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 177.

ſeven months in nineteen years, in the manner as do the Jews, reduced them to ſolary years; and conſequently had their months always fixed to the ſame ſeaſon of the year. But this growing out of uſe about the time of Mahomet, their year hath ever ſince been ſtrictly lunary, conſiſting only of three hundred fifty-four days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes; [z] which odd hours and minutes in thirty years making eleven days exactly, they do intercalate a day on the 2d, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 18th, 21ſt, 24th, 26th, and 29th, years of this period. So that their year, in thoſe years of this period, conſiſts of three hundred fifty-five days, by reaſon of the intercalated day, which they then add to the laſt month of the year. And this year all that profeſs the Mahometan religion have ever made uſe of; and there is a paſſage in the Alcoran [a] whereby they are confined to it. For the Impoſtor there calls it an impiety to prolong the year, that is, by adding an intercalary month thereto. So that according to this account, the Mahometan year falling eleven days ſhort of the ſolary; it hence comes to paſs, that the beginning of the year of the Hegira is unfixed and ambulatory (the next year always beginning eleven days ſooner than the former) and therefore ſometimes it happens in ſummer, ſometimes in ſpring, ſometimes in winter, and ſometimes in autumn; and in thirty-three years compaſs goes through all the different ſeaſons of the year, and comes about again to the ſame time of the ſolary year, although not exactly to the ſame day. Which being like to create ſome confuſion to us who are uſed to the ſolary year; to prevent this, after the year of the Hegira, I add the day of the month in the year of our Lord in which it begins.

[z] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 11. Scaliger de Emendatione temporum, lib. 2. cap. de Anno Hegiræ.

[a] Alcoran, c. 9.

The months of the Arab year are as follow; 1. Moharram. 2. Saphar. 3. The former Rabia. 4. The latter Rabia. 5. The former Jomada. 6. The latter Jomada. 7. Rajeb. 8. Shaban. 9. Ramadan. 10. Shawall. 11. Dulkaada. 12. Dulhaga. The firſt hath thirty days, and the ſecond twenty-nine, and ſo alternatively to the end of the year; only in the intercalary years, Dulhaga hath thirty days, becauſe of the day added; but in all other years only twenty-nine.

But beſides this æra, the Mahometans in Perſia have another, which they reckon by in all civil matters, called the *Æra of Yazdejerd.* It computes by ſolary years of three hundred ſixty-five days without any intercalation, and is in uſe among the aſtronomers all over the Eaſt. It hath its beginning ten years after the Hegira, not from the death of Yazdejerd (as all chronologers hitherto following the miſtake of Scaliger, have erroneouſly aſſerted) but from his firſt advancement to the crown of Perſia. The hiſtory of this matter is thus. [b] After the death of Choſroes, the ſecond of that name (which happened An. Dom. 628.) in four years time eight ſeveral perſons having ſucceſſively poſſeſſed themſelves of the throne of Perſia, and moſt of them by violent means, this created ſuch diſtractions and confuſions through all that kingdom, by reaſon of the great diviſions, and ſeveral different intereſts, which ſo many revolutions in ſo ſhort a time had occaſioned among them, that at length all parties growing weary of ſo deſtructive a ſtate of their affairs, came to an agreement of ſettling again under a prince of the royal family, and to this purpoſe made choice of Yazdejerd, a grandſon of Choſroes, who was a young man of fifteen years old; and ſent into Arabia (where he was fled for his ſafety) to Abu Beker, then

[b] Abul Pharaghius, p. 112. & p. 116. Eutychius, part 2. p. 256. & p. 296. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 2. & c. 4.

newly choſe ſucceſſor to Mahomet, to demand him for their king; and having accordingly obtained him, did, on the 16th day of June, Anno Dom. 632. in the eleventh year of the Hegira, place him on the throne of his anceſtors; which being ſo ſignal a reſtoration of that kingdom to its former peace and ſettlement, after ſo great a diſturbance of it, they made this the beginning of a new æra [c] among them, which from the name of the king, they called the æra of Yazdejerd. And therefore it doth not begin from the death of that prince; for he lived nineteen years after, and fought many battles againſt the Saracens, during the reign of Omar and Othman, ſucceſſors of Abu Beker, in defence of his country, till at length he was ſlain by the treachery of one of his own captains, in the thirty-firſt year of the Hegira, Anno Dom. 651. nineteen years after this æra, denominated from him, firſt commenced, which all agree was in the eleventh year of the Hegira.

Heg. 1. July 16. A. D. 622.] The firſt thing that [d] Mahomet did after his having ſettled himſelf at Medina, was to marry his daughter Fatima to his couſin Ali. She was the only child then living, of ſix which were born to him of Cadigha, his firſt wife; and indeed the only one which he had, notwithſtanding the multitude of his wives, [e] that ſurvived him, whom he exceedingly loved, and was uſed to give great commendations of her, reckoning her among the perfecteſt of women. For he was [f] uſed to ſay, that among men there were many perfect, but of women he would allow only four

[c] Ulug. Beg. de Cognitione Epoch. c. 3. where ſpeaking of the Perſian epocha, he hath theſe words, Principium hujus Epochæ fuit dies Martis initio anni quo primum regnavit Yazdejerdus filius Shahriari.

[d] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Feda, &c.

[e] Abul Pharaghius, p. 103.

[f] Abul Feda, Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 188.

to be ſuch, and theſe were Aſiah the wife of Pharaoh; Mary the mother of Chriſt; Cadigha his wife, and Fatima his daughter. From her all that pretend to be of the race of Mahomet derive their deſcent.

And now the Impoſtor having obtained the end he had been long driving at, that is, a town at his command where to arm his party, and head them with ſecurity; for the further proſecution of his deſign, he here enters on a new ſcene. Hitherto he had been preaching up his impoſture for thirteen years together; for the remaining ten years of his life he takes the ſword and fights for it. He had long been teazed and perplexed at Mecca with queſtions, and objections, and diſputes about what he preached, whereby being often gravelled and non-pluſſed, to the laughter of his auditors, and his own ſhame and confuſion, out of hatred to this way [g] he henceforth forbids all manner of diſputing about his religion; and that he might be ſure to have no more of it, makes it for the future to be no leſs than death for any one in the leaſt to contradict or oppoſe any of the doctrines which he had taught. The way that his religion was to be propagated, he now tells his diſciples, was not by diſputing, but [h] by fighting; and therefore commands them all to arm themſelves, and ſlay with the ſword all thoſe that would not embrace it, unleſs they ſubmitted to pay an annual tribute for the redemption of their lives. And according to this his injunction, even unto this day, all who live under any Mahometan government, and are not of their religion, [i] pay an annual tax for a conſtant mulct

[g] Alcoran, c. 4. Cantacuzen. Orat. 1. § 12. Joannes Andreas, c. 12.

[h] Alcoran, c. 2, 3, 4, 9, &c. Joannes Andreas, c. 12. Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 8. Cantacuzeni, Orat. 1. Apolog. 4. Richardi Confutatio, c. 10.

[i] Thevenot. part 1. lib. 1. c. 56.

of their infidelity (which in Turkey [k] is called the *Carrage*) and are ſure to be puniſhed with [l] death, if in the leaſt they contradict or oppoſe any doctrine that is received among them to have been taught by Mahomet. And certainly there could not be a wiſer way deviſed for upholding ſo abſurd an impoſture, than by thus ſilencing, under ſo ſevere a penalty, all manner of oppoſition and diſputes againſt it.

After the Impoſtor had ſufficiently infuſed this doctrine into his diſciples, he next proceeds to put it in practice; and having erected his ſtandard, calls them all to come armed thereto; where having enrolled them all for the war [m] he gave his ſtandard to his uncle Hamza, conſtituting him thereby his ſtandard-bearer; and out of the ſpecial confidence he had in him, ſent him out on the firſt expedition which was undertaken in his cauſe. For underſtanding that [n] the caravan of Mecca was now on the road in their return from Syria, he ordered out Hamza with a party of thirty horſe to way-lay and plunder them; and he having accordingly poſted himſelf in a wood in the country of Yamama, by which they were to paſs, they tarried their coming; but on their approach, finding them guarded with three hundred men, ſent from Mecca to convey them ſafe home, he durſt not ſet upon them, but fled and returned to Medina, without effecting any thing. And ſeveral other expeditions, which were this year undertaken of the ſame nature, had no better ſucceſs.

Heg. 2. July 5. A. D. 623.] The next year a very rich caravan going from Mecca towards Syria, and carrying a great quantity both of goods and money, which belonged to the merchants of Mecca, that traded into that country, he went

[k] Thevenot, part 1. lib. 1. c. 28.
[l] Cantacuzen. Orat. 2. § 5. Thevenot, part 1. lib. 1. c. 28.
[m] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 1.
[n] Elmacin, ib. Diſputat. Chriſtiani, c. 4.

out with three hundred and nineteen men to intercept it. But [o] coming up with them at a place called Beder, he found them guarded by a convoy of a thouſand men, under the command of Abu Sophian, whereon a fierce battle enſued between them; but Mahomet gaining the victory, Abu Sophian made as good a retreat as he could back again to Mecca, ſaving moſt of the caravan with him, at which Mahomet's men much [p] repined. However, great ſpoils were gained by them in this battle, which had like to have made a quarrel among them about the diviſion. For the army conſiſting of two parties, the men of Medina, who were called the Anſars, that is, *Mahomet's helpers*; and the men of Mecca, who were called the Mohagerins, that is, *the companions of his flight*; the [q] former would have had a larger ſhare than the latter. To ſolve this controverſy, Mahomet compoſed the eighth chapter of his Alcoran, wherein he adjudgeth the fifth part to himſelf, and the reſt to be equally divided between them.

The ſucceſs of this battle gave great encouragement to the Impoſtor, and his party. He frequently brags of it in his Alcoran, and would have it believed that [r] two miracles were wrought for his obtaining of it; the firſt, that God made his enemies ſee his army as double to what it was, which helped to diſmay them; and the ſecond, that he ſent troops of angels to his aſſiſtance, which helped to overcome them. They were to the number of three thouſand (as he [s] himſelf tells us) but being inviſible to every one's eye but his alone, the credit of

[o] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Pharaghius, p. 102. Alcoran, c. 3. & Commentatores in illud caput.

[p] Alcoran, c. 8.

[q] Hottingeri Bibliotheca Orientalis, c. 2. ad Suratam Octavam Alcorani.

[r] Alcoran, c. 3. Bidawi.

[s] Alcoran, c. 3.

it ſtands upon no better foundation, than the reſt of his impoſture, his own ſingle teſtimony only.

This year he altered the [t] Kebla, that is, the place towards which they directed their prayers. For it was uſual among the people of the Eaſt, of all religions, to obſerve one particular point of the heavens, towards which they all turned their faces when they prayed. The Jews, in what part of the world ſoever they were, prayed with their faces [u] towards Jeruſalem, becauſe there was their temple; the Arabians towards [x] Mecca, becauſe there was the caaba, the chief place of their heathen worſhip; the Sabeans [y] towards the north-ſtar; and the Perſian idolaters, who held fire and light to be their chief gods, [z] towards the eaſt, becauſe from thence the ſun did ariſe, which they held to be the chief fountain of both. Mahomet, from the beginning of his impoſture, had directed his diſciples to pray [a] with their faces towards Jeruſalem, which he was uſed to call the holy city, and the city of the prophets, and intended to have ordered his pilgrimages thither, and to have made it the chief place where all his ſect were to worſhip. But now finding that his followers ſtill bore a ſuperſtitious veneration to the temple of Mecca, which had for many ages before been the chief place of the idolatrous worſhip of the Arabians, and that it would be a very prevalent argument to reconcile his fellow-citizens to him, if he ſtill preſerved their temple in its former honour, he changed his former law to

[t] Abul Pharaghius, p. 102. Al Kodai, Abul Feda, Joannes Andreas, c. 6.

[u] Daniel, c. 6. v. 10. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, c. 10. Maimonides in Halachoth Tephillah, c. 1. § 3.

[x] Abul Pharaghius, p. 102.

[y] Abul Pharaghius, p. 184.

[z] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 148.

[a] Abul Feda, Abul Pharaghius, p. 102. Joannes Andreas, c. 6. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 175.

ſerve his preſent purpoſe, and henceforth directed his diſciples to pray with their faces towards [b] Mecca, and ordained the temple of that place, which from its ſquare form was called the caaba (that word ſignifying a ſquare in the Arabic tongue) to be the chief place of worſhip for all of his religion, to which they were ſtill to perform their pilgrimages, as in former times. And to this change he was the more inclined, out of his averſion to the Jews, againſt whom having, about this time contracted an irreconcilable hatred, he liked not any longer to conform with them in this rite. And that his followers might be diſtinguiſhed from them in this particular, is the reaſon [c] which he himſelf gives for this change. However, [d] many of his diſciples were much ſcandalized hereat, judging no truth nor ſtability in that religion which was ſo often given to change; and ſeveral left him thereon.

From this time, the more to magnify the temple of Mecca, and to give the greater honour and reputation thereto, have we all thoſe fabulous ſtories invented, which the Impoſtor tells us concerning it. As that it was [e] firſt built in heaven to be the place where the angels were to worſhip; and that Adam worſhipped at it while in paradiſe; but being caſt down from thence (for they place paradiſe in heaven) he prayed God, that he might have ſuch a temple on earth, towards which he might pray, and go round it in holy worſhip unto him, in the ſame manner as the angels went round that which he had ſeen in heaven: that thereon God ſent down the ſimilitude of that temple in curtains of light, and pitched it at Mecca, in the place where the caaba now ſtands; which is, ſay they, exactly under the original, which is in heaven: that there, after the

[b] Alcoran, c. 2. Joannes Andreas, c. 2. & c. 6.
[c] Alcoran, c. 2. [d] Joannes Andreas, c. 6.
[e] Shareſtani, Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 115. Sionitæ Appendix ad Geographiam Nubienſem, c. 7.

death of Adam, Seth built it with ſtones and clay; and that all the people of God there worſhipped till the flood, by which it being overthrown, God commanded Abraham again to rebuild it, having ſhewn him the form of the fabric in a viſion, and directed him to the place by his viſible Shechinah reſiding on it: that accordingly [f] Abraham and Iſmael rebuilt it in the place where it now ſtands: and that Iſmael ever after, living at Mecca, there worſhipped God with the true worſhip; but his poſterity afterwards corrupted it with idolatry, and profaned this holy temple with idols, from which he was now to purge it, and conſecrate it anew to the true worſhip of God, to which it was primitively intended. And he did not only thus retain the temple of Mecca, but alſo the pilgrimages thither, and all the abſurd rites which were performed at them in the times of idolatry. For theſe being the things which long uſe had created a great veneration for in the minds of the Arabians, by adopting them all into his new religion, he made it go down the eaſier with them. And indeed this was the principal piece of his craft, ſo to frame his new religion in every particular, as would beſt take with thoſe to whom he propoſed it.

As to this temple of Mecca, and what it was before Mahomet, all that is true of it, is this. It was an heathen temple in the ſame veneration among the Arabs, that the temple of Delphos was among the Greeks, whither all their [g] tribes, for many ages, came once a year to perform their idolatrous ceremonies to their gods; till at length Mahomet having forced them to exchange their idolatry for another religion altogether

[f] Alcoran, c. 2, 3, & 22. Al Jannabi in vita Abrahami, Shareſtani, Zamachſhari, ad cap. 2. Alcorani. Shariſol Edriſi. Liber Agar. Joannes Andreas, c. 1.

[g] Shareſtani, Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 8, & 9. Makriſi. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 177, & 311.

as bad, made this temple alſo undergo the ſame change, by appointing it thenceforth to be the chief place for the performing of that falſe worſhip which he impoſed, in the ſame manner as it was before of that which he aboliſhed, and ſo it hath continued ever ſince.

This ſame year he alſo appointed the month of [h] Ramadan to be a month of faſt. At his firſt coming to Medina, [i] finding the Jews obſerving the celebration of their great faſt of the expiation on the tenth of their firſt month, which is Tiſri, he aſked what it meant; and being told it was a faſt appointed by Moſes, he replied, that he had more to do with Moſes than they; and therefore ordained the tenth day of Moharram, the the firſt month of the Arab year, to be a ſolemn faſt with his Muſſlemen in imitation hereof, which by a name alſo borrowed from the Jews, he called Aſhura, which is the ſame with the Hebrew Aſhor, that is, the tenth, it being the [k] tenth day of the month Tiſri, on which this faſt of the expiation was kept among them. And he did alſo at firſt adopt other of their faſts into his religion, hoping by theſe means to win them over unto him. But finding them ſtill to oppoſe him all they could, and on all occaſions to perplex him and his followers with queſtions and difficulties about his religion, which he could not find anſwers for, and on the account hereof to diſparage and deride him and his impoſture, he contracted that averſion and hatred againſt them, that he reſolved to differ from them [l] in this too, as well as in the particular laſt mentioned; and therefore aboliſhing the ſaid faſts, which he had taken from them, in imitation of the Chriſtian way, with whom

[h] Abul Pharaghius, p. 102. Al Kodai.
[i] Al Kazwini, Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 309.
[k] Leviticus, c. 16. v. 29. Miſna in Tract. Yoma, & Maimonides in Tract. Yom Kippur.
[l] Ebnol Athir.

about this time (it ſeems) he was very deſirous to ingratiate himſelf, he appointed the whole month of Ramadan to be as it were his Lent, or a continued time of ſolemn faſting. And this year the month of Ramadan beginning in the month of March, it did now exactly fall in with the time of the Chriſtian Lent. But the reaſon which he himſelf gives for his appointing of it, was, becauſe [m] on this month, as he pretends, the Alcoran firſt came down from heaven to him; that is, that chapter of it which he firſt publiſhed. Before, it was a month uſually [n] dedicated to jollity and good cheer among the Arabs, and while they intercalated the year, always fell in the heat of ſummer; and therefore it was called Ramadan, [o] becauſe of the *Ramado'l Har*, i. e. *the vehemency of the heat*, which then happened.

The reſt of this year [p] he ſpent in predatory excurſions upon his neighbours, robbing, plundering and deſtroying all thoſe that lived near Medina, who would not come in and embrace his religion.

Heg. 3. June 24. A. D. 624.] The next year he made war [q] upon thoſe tribes of the Arabs, who were of the Jewiſh religion near him; and having taken their caſtles, and reduced them under his power, ſold them all for ſlaves, and divided their goods among his followers. He being exceedingly exaſperated againſt Caab, one of their Rabbies, this war was principally undertaken for his ſake, that he might take him [r] and put him to death; but not being able to light on him in any of thoſe places which he had taken, he ſent out parties to

[m] Alcoran, c. 2.
[n] Ebn Ahmed, Al Makrizi, Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 175.
[o] Al Jauhari, Ebnol Athir, Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 7. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 176.
[p] Elmacin. Abul Pharaghius.
[q] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. [r] Elmacin. ib.

ſearch after him, ordering them to kill him wherever they ſhould find him. The reaſon of his [s] bitter hatred againſt him was this. Caab was a very eminent poet among the Arabians, and having a brother called Bejair, that had turned Mahometan, he made a very ſatirical poem upon him for this change, wherein he ſo terribly galled the Impoſtor, that he could not bear it, but reſolved to revenge the affront with his deſtruction, if ever he could get him into his hands. For ſome time Caab eſcaped all the ſnares which he laid for him; but after his power had increaſed ſo far, that the greater part of Arabia had ſubmitted to him, he found he could be no longer ſafe, but by making his peace with him; and therefore to purchaſe it, came in unto him, and profeſſed himſelf a Mahometan alſo. Hereon Mahomet bade him repeat that poem which had ſo much offended him, which he did, putting the name of Abu Beker in every verſe, where formerly was the name of Mahomet; but this not doing, Mahomet would not give him his pardon, although at that time he did not take any advantage of his voluntary coming in unto him. Whereon putting his wits to work, he had recourſe to this farther device for the obtaining of his ſecurity from him. For being informed that Mahomet had lately gotten a new miſtreſs, whom he exceedingly doated upon, and much regretted her abſence from him, while then abroad upon the wars; the crafty Jew ſtruck in with this paſſion for the mollifying of him, and compoſed an excellent poem in her commendation, which having repeated before him, he ſo took the heart of the old Lecher thereby, that he not only pardoned him, but alſo received him into the number of his particular favourites, and made him one of his chief confidents ever after. And as a mark of his favour,

[s] Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. part 1. c. 1. & Eutych. Vindicat. p. 303, &

then beſtowed on him the cloak which he wore; which being kept by him out of an affected veneration to the Impoſtor, as an holy relic, was afterwards bought by Moawias, when he came to the empire, for thirty thouſand pieces of gold, and was made the robe which he and all his ſucceſſors of the houſe of Ommia conſtantly wore on all ſolemn occaſions. And it is ſaid of this Caab, that he afterwards became ſo intimate with the Impoſtor, that he took him into his greateſt ſecrets, even to that of the impoſture itſelf, in compoſing the Alcoran, for which his great ſkill in the Arabic language, and all other learning then in uſe among them, exceedingly qualified him.

Towards the end of this year happened the battle of Ohud, which had like to have proved fatal to the Impoſtor. For [t] Abu Sophian, to revenge the laſt year's affront, marched againſt him with an army of three thouſand foot and two hundred horſe; and having ſeized the mountain of Ohud, [u] which was only four miles diſtant from Medina, he ſo diſtreſſed that place from thence, that Mahomet was forced to hazard battle to diſlodge him from that poſt, although he could make no more than a thouſand men to lead out againſt him. However, in the firſt conflict he had the better, but at laſt being overborne by the number of the enemy, he loſt many of his men, and among them, Hamza his uncle, who bore the ſtandard, and was himſelf grievouſly wounded in ſeveral places, and had been ſlain, but that Tilha, one of his companions, and nephew to Abu Beker, came in to his reſcue, in which action [x] he received a wound in his hand, which deprived him of the uſe of ſome of his fingers ever after.

To ſolve the objections which were raiſed againſt him on

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[t] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Pharaghius, p. 102.

[u] Geographia Nubienſis, Clim. 2. part 5.

[x] Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 5. with which compare Abul Pharaghius, p. 117. For there it is ſaid Tilha had a lame hand.

this defeat, he was much put to it. Some [y] argued againſt him, how he that was a prophet of God, and ſo much in his favour as he pretended, could be overthrown in battle by the infidels? And others murmured as much for the loſs of their friends and relations who were ſlain in the battle. To ſatisfy the former, he laid the cauſe of the overthrow on the ſins of ſome that followed him; and ſaid, that for this reaſon God ſuffered them to be overthrown, that ſo the good might be diſtinguiſhed from the bad, and thoſe who were true believers might on this occaſion be diſcerned from thoſe who were not. And to ſtill the complaints and clamours of the latter, he invented his doctrine of fate and deſtiny, telling them that thoſe who were ſlain in the battle, though they had tarried at home in their houſes, muſt have died notwithſtanding when they did, the time of every man's life being predeſtinated and determined by God, beyond which no caution is able in the leaſt to prolong it; that the deſtiny of all is ſtated to an hour, which cannot be altered; and therefore thoſe who were ſlain in the battle, died no ſooner than they muſt otherwiſe have done; but in that they died fighting for the faith, they gained the advantage of the crown of martyrdom, and the rewards which were due thereto in paradiſe, where he told them they were alive with God in everlaſting bliſs, which was of greater advantage than all the treaſures of the world could in this life have been unto them: that they were there rejoicing very much, that they had laid down their life ſo happily, as by thus fighting in the cauſe of God, and his law, and were expreſſing among themſelves exceeding gladneſs, that thoſe who ran to hinder them from going to the battle, met them not. Both which doctrines he found ſo well to ſerve his turn, that he propagated them on all occaſions after. And they have been

[y] Alcoran, c. 3.

the darling [z] notions of all this ſect ever ſince, eſpecially in their wars, where certainly nothing can be more conducive to make them fight valiantly, than a ſettled opinion, that whatever dangers they expoſe themſelves to, they cannot die either ſooner or later than is otherwiſe unalterably predetermined that they muſt; and that in caſe this predetermined time be come, in dying fighting for their religion, they ſhall obtain that happineſs, as to become martyrs thereby, and immediately enter into paradiſe for the reward hereof.

Heg. 4. June 13. A. D. 625.] In the fourth year of the Hegira he waged war [a] with the Nadorites, a tribe of the Jewiſh Arabs in his neighbourhood, whom he preſſed ſo hard, that he forced them to leave their caſtles; part of them retiring to Chaibar, a city belonging to thoſe of their religion; and part flying into Syria. Thoſe latter that fled into Syria, Mundir Ebn Omar, with a party of the men of Medina, purſued after, and having overtaken them near the borders of that country, put them all to the ſword, excepting only one man that eſcaped. With ſuch cruelty did thoſe barbarians firſt ſet up to fight for that impoſture they had been deluded into. This ſame year he fought the ſecond battle of Beder, and had many other ſkirmiſhes with thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to him, in which he had ſometimes proſperous, and ſometimes dubious ſucceſs.

But while his army was abroad on theſe expeditions, ſome of his principal men engaging at play and drink, in the heat of their cups fell a quarrelling, which raiſed ſuch a diſturbance among the reſt of his men, that they had like to have fallen all together by the ears, to the confounding of him and all his

[z] Ricaut's Hiſtory of the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, Book 2. c. 8.

[a] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Pharaghius, p. 102.

deſigns; and therefore for the preventing the like miſchief for the future, [b] he forbade the uſe of wine, and all games of chance ever after. And to make his prohibition the more influential, he backs it with a [c] fable of two angels, called Arut and Marut, who he tells us were in times paſt ſent down from heaven to adminiſter juſtice, and teach men righteouſneſs in the province of Babylon; that while they were there, a certain woman coming to them for juſtice, invited them home to dinner, and ſet wine before them, which God had forbidden them to drink; but being tempted by the pleaſantneſs of the liquor to tranſgreſs the divine command, they became ſo drunk, that they tempted the woman to lewdneſs; who promiſed to conſent, on condition that the one of them ſhould firſt carry her to heaven, and the other bring her back again. But the woman being got to heaven would not come back again, but declared to God the whole matter. Whereupon, for reward of her chaſtity, ſhe was made the morning-ſtar. And the angels having this option given them, whether they would be puniſhed for their wickedneſs, either now, or hereafter, choſe the former: whereupon they were hung up by the feet by an iron chain in a certain pit near Babylon, where they are to continue ſuffering the puniſhment of their tranſgreſſion till the day of judgment. And that for this reaſon God forbade the uſe of wine to all his ſervants ever after. But [d] Buſbequius, and out of him [e] Ricaut give the reaſon of

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[b] Al Kodai, Pocockii Specim Hiſt. Arab. p. 175. Alcoran, c. 5. Fortalit. Fid. lib. 4. Conſid. 5.

[c] Alcoran, c. 2. Zamachſhari and Bidawi, aliique Commentatores ad illud caput. Dialogus Mahometis cum Abdollah, Richardi Confutatio Legis Saracenicæ, c. 4. Cantacuzen. Orat. 2. § 15. Bellonius, l. 3. c. 6. Guadagnol. Tract. 2. c. 4. e Libro Agar.

[d] Epiſt. 3.

[e] Hiſtory of the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, Book 2. c. 25.

his forbidding the uſe of wine from another occaſion; which they thus relate; 'Mahomet making a journey to a friend of 'his at noon entered into his houſe, where there was a mar-'riage feaſt; and ſitting down with the gueſts, he obſerved 'them to be very merry and jovial, kiſſing and embracing 'one another, which was attributed to the cheerfulneſs of their 'ſpirits raiſed by the wine, ſo that he bleſſed it as a ſacred 'thing in being thus an inſtrument of much love among men. 'But returning to the ſame houſe the next day, he beheld 'another face of things, as gore-blood on the ground, an hand 'cut off, an arm, foot, and other limbs diſmembered, which 'was told was the effect of the brawls and fighting, occaſioned 'by the wine, which made them mad, and inflamed them into 'a fury, thus to deſtroy one another. Whereon he changed 'his mind, and turned his former bleſſing into a curſe, and 'forbade it ever after to all his diſciples.' But he himſelf ſeems totally to refer the reaſon of the prohibition, to the quarrel which wine and play at games of chance had cauſed among them. For in the 5th chapter of the Alcoran, where he gives his law concerning this matter, his words are, 'the 'devil deſires to ſow diſſenſion and hatred among you, through 'wine and games of chance, to divert you from remembering 'God, and praying unto him. Abandon wine and games of 'chance. Be obedient to God, and the prophet his apoſtle, 'and take heed to yourſelves.' The truth of the matter is, the Arabians [f] were given to drink wine to great exceſs, when they could come by it; and being of an hot temper, as living moſt of them within the Torrid Zone, were liable to be in-flamed by it into the higheſt diſorders; and this Mahomet having had ſufficient experience of, particularly in the danger-

[f] Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. Part 1. c. 5. Richardi Confutatio, 8.

ous inſtance I have mentioned, did, in reſpect of his Arabians, prudently enough provide againſt the like miſchief for the future, by thus taking away the cauſe from whence it did flow.

Heg. 5. June 2. A. D. 627.] The next year was the war of the Ditch, where Mahomet was in great danger of being totally ruined. For the men of Mecca having entered into confederacy with ſeveral of the tribes of the Jewiſh Arabians, to whom he had declared himſelf a mortal enemy [g] marched againſt him under the command of Joſeph, the brother of Abu Sophian, with an army of ten thouſand men. Mahomet marched forth to meet them; but being terrified with their number, by the advice of Abdollah Ebn Salem, the Perſian Jew above mentioned (whom Elmacinus calls Salman) fortified himſelf with a deep ditch, within which intrenchment the enemy beſieged him many days, which time the crafty Impoſtor employed to corrupt over to his intereſt their leading men. In which attempt having ſucceeded with ſome of them, he did, by their means, ſow ſuch diſſenſions among the reſt, as ſoon extricated him from all this danger he was fallen into, which happened on this occaſion. There was then in the enemies camp, [h] Amrus Ebn Abdud, an eminent Koraſhite, and uncle to Ali, who having the reputation of being the beſt horſeman in Arabia, to ſhew his manhood while the two armies lay thus idle againſt each other, rode up to Mahomet's trenches, and challenged any of his army to fight with him in a ſingle combat. Ali, although his nephew, accepts the challenge; and having ſlain Amrus, and alſo another that came to his aſſiſtance, thoſe whom Mahomet's inſtruments had wrought into a diſſenſion from the reſt, took this opportunity [i] to deſert the camp, and march home. Whoſe example the

[g] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Pharaghius, p. 102.
[h] Ecchelenſis, Hiſt. Arab. p. 1. c. 3. Abul Pharaghius, p. 102.
[i] Abul Pharaghius, p. 102. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

reſt in this conſternation following, the whole army broke up, and ſeparated. And ſo this war, from which ſo much was expected, ended in nothing but the loſs of ſix men on Mahomet's ſide, and three on the other.

But though the enemy could make no uſe of the advantage they had, yet [k] Mahomet knew how to make the beſt of that which they gave him by this retreat. And therefore immediately marching after the Cozaites, one of the Jewiſh tribes confederated againſt him, beſieged them in their fortreſſes, and forced them to ſurrender at mercy to Saad Ebn Saad, one of his chief commanders. But he being ſore of a wound he had received at the war of the Ditch, in revenge thereof cauſed all the men, and among them Hahib Ebn Atab their chief commander, to be put to the ſword, and the women and children to be ſold for ſlaves, and all their goods to be given for a prey unto his ſoldiers; and as ſoon as this was executed, died himſelf of the wound, which he had thus cruelly revenged.

Heg. 6. May 23. A. D. 627.] In the ſixth year he ſubdued [l] the Lahianites, the Muſtalachites, and ſeveral other tribes of the Arabs. The Muſtalachites were of the poſterity of the Chozaites, whom Coſa expelled out of Mecca. [m] Mahomet having overthrown them in battle, ſlew moſt of the men, according to his bloody manner, and took their wives and children captives, among whom finding Juweira, the daughter of Hareth, a woman of excellent beauty, [n] he fell in love with her, and took her to him to wife, and for her ſake releaſed all of her kindred that were found among the captives.

And now the Impoſtor, after ſo many advantages obtained

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[k] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.
[l] Abul Pharaghius, p. 102. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.
[m] Abul Feda, Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 42.
[n] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

in his wars, being much increaſed in ſtrength [o] marched his army againſt Mecca, and at Hadibia, a place near that city, on the road from thence to Jodda, a battle was fought between them, the conſequence of which was, that neither ſide gaining any advantage over the other, they there agreed on a truce for ten years: the conditions of which were, that all within Mecca, who were for Mahomet, might have liberty to join themſelves to him; and on the other ſide, thoſe with Mahomet, who had a mind to leave him, and return to their houſes in Mecca, might alſo have the ſame liberty. But for the future, if any of the citizens of Mecca ſhould go over to Mahomet without the conſent of the governor of the city, he ſhould be bound on demand to render them unto him. And that if Mahomet, or any of his party, had a mind to come into the city, they might have liberty ſo to do at any time during the truce, provided they came unarmed in a peaceable way, and tarried not above three days at a time.

By this truce Mahomet being very much confirmed in his power, took on him [p] thenceforth the authority of a king, and was inaugurated by the chief men of his army, under a tree near Medina, which immediately (it ſeems, curſed by the authority given ſo wicked an Impoſtor under it) withered away and periſhed, which the Mahometans themſelves relate, but make another interpretation of it.

On Mahomet's having thus made truce with the men of Mecca, and thereby obtained free acceſs for any of his party to come into that city, he thenceforth ordained them to make their [q] pilgrimages thither, which have ever ſince with ſo much religion been obſerved by all of his ſect, once every year. This was an ancient rite of the heathen Arabs, it having been

[o] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 1. [p] Elmacin. ibid.
Al Kodai, Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 175.

a conſtant uſage [r] among them for many ages foregoing to come once a year to the temple of Mecca, there to worſhip their heathen deities. The time of this their pilgrimage [s] was in the month of Dulhaga; and on the tenth day of that month was their great feſtival, in which the chiefeſt ſolemnities of their pilgrimage were performed; and therefore it was called *Ayd al Cabir*, i. e. *the great feaſt*; and alſo, becauſe theſe ſolemnities did chiefly conſiſt in offering up ſacrifices and oblations, *Ayd al Corban*, that is, *the feaſt of oblation*; and the whole ſolemnity, *Al Hagha*, i. e. *the ſolemn feſtival*, in the ſame ſenſe as the Hebrew word *Chag*, from which it is derived, ſignifieth any of the three ſolemn feſtivals, on which the Jews were thrice every year to appear before the Lord at the temple of Jeruſalem. And from hence the month in which this feſtival falls, is called among them *Dulhagha*, which is as much as to ſay, *the month of the ſolemn feſtival*. And that all might have free liberty ſafely to come to this feſtival from all parts of Arabia, and again ſafely return, was the reaſon that not only this month, but alſo the preceding and following were held ſacred among them, in which it was not lawful to uſe any act of hoſtility againſt any man, as I have afore ſhewn. And therefore this ſolemn pilgrimage to Mecca having been a religious uſage, which all the tribes of the Arabs had long been devoted to, and was had in great veneration among them, Mahomet thought not fit to ruffle them with any innovation in this matter, but adopting it into his religion, retained it juſt in the ſame manner as he found it practiſed among them, with all the ridiculous rites appendant thereto; and ſo it is obſerved even unto this day by all of that religion, as one of the funda-

[r] Vide ſupra ad Annum Hegiræ ſecundum.

[s] Shareſtani, Makrizi, Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 8, & 9. Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 177.

mental duties of it. For the crafty Impoſtor taught them concerning it (as he did of all the other heathen rites of the Arabs, which he found neceſſary to retain) that it was a command from God to Abraham and Iſmael, annually to obſerve this pilgrimage to Mecca; and that it was given unto them on their rebuilding the caaba; and that at firſt it was only uſed to the honour of God, in the coming of all the Arabs thither once every year, there to worſhip together before him in one holy aſſembly, in the ſame manner as the Jews were after commanded thrice every year to worſhip before him in their three ſolemn feſtivals at Jeruſalem: but that in proceſs of time it became perverted to idolatry, from which he was now commanded again to reſtore it to its primitive uſe. And in the making of this eſtabliſhment, he had no ſmall reſpect to his native city, that he might preſerve to it the ſame benefit of this pilgrimage, which it had before ſo long enjoyed. And in thus providing for the intereſt of that people in the very religion which he was a-framing, he thought he might the eaſier prevail to draw them over unto it. And in this he was not miſtaken. For had he totally aboliſhed this pilgrimage, it being the greateſt honour and benefit which that place enjoyed, and by which, indeed, it did moſtly ſubſiſt; their intereſt would have engaged them to that vigorous oppoſition againſt him, that in all likelihood he would never have become maſter of that city, and for want thereof have miſcarried in the whole deſign.

Heg. 7. May 11. A. D. 628.] And now being thus eſtabliſhed in the ſovereignty, which he had been ſo long driving at, he took to him all the inſignia belonging thereto; but ſo that ſtill he retained the ſacred character of chief pontiff of his religion, as well as the royal, which he had now inveſted himſelf with, and tranſmitted them both together to all his ſucceſſors, who by the title of Caliphs reigned after him; ſo

that they were in the ſame manner as the Jewiſh princes of the race of the Maccabees, kings and chief prieſts of their people at the ſame time. Their pontifical authority chiefly conſiſted in giving the interpretation of the Mahometan law, in ordering all matters of religion, and alſo in officiating in the duties of it themſelves, as well in praying as preaching in their public moſques, as on all more ſolemn occaſions they were uſed to do. And at length this was all the authority the Caliphs were left poſſeſſed of, they being totally ſtript of all the reſt, firſt by the governors of the provinces [t] (who about the year of the Hegira 325. aſſumed the regal authority to themſelves, and made themſelves kings each in their particular government) and after by others, who roſe up on this diſtraction of the empire to uſurp upon them, till at laſt they left them nothing elſe but the name and ſhadow of what they had afore been. For although thoſe princes ſtill paid ſome deference to the Caliph, as to a ſacred perſon (in the ſame manner as is now paid to the Pope of Rome by the princes of his communion) and ſuffered him to be prayed for through all the moſques of their dominions, and his name to be inſerted in the public offices, even before their own, as if they had ſtill been no more than his lieutenants in the government, as in former times; yet as to all things relating to the government of their particular ſtates, they diſowned all manner of obedience unto him, and often depoſed him, and put another in his ſtead, as they thought would beſt ſuit with their intereſt; which was uſually done, according as this prince or that prince made themſelves maſters of Bagdat, the city where the Caliph reſided, till at length the Tartars came in, and in that deluge of deſtruction, with which they did over-run all the Eaſt, put a total end to

[t] Elmacin, lib. 3. c. 1. Abul Pharaghius, &c.

their [u] very name and being, as well as their authority. Ever ſince that time, moſt Mahometan princes have a particular officer appointed in their reſpective dominions, who ſuſtains this ſacred authority, formerly inveſted in the Caliphs, who in Turkey is called the Mufti, and in Perſia the Sadre; but they being under the power of the princes that appoint them, are moſt an end made uſe of for no other purpoſe, but as tools of ſtate to ſerve their intereſt, and make the law ſpeak what at any time they ſhall judge moſt agreeable to it, how wicked and unjuſt ſoever it be.

As ſoon as Mahomet had finiſhed his moſque at Medina, he always, if in the place, officiated in it himſelf, both in praying, and alſo in preaching to the people; for which he had no other convenience at firſt, than a piece of a beam, or the ſtump of a palm-tree driven into the ground, on the top of which he leaned when he did officiate. But being now inveſted with the ſupreme authority, he thought this too mean an accommodation for his dignity; and therefore, by the advice of one of his wives, cauſed a pulpit to be built for him, which had two ſteps up into it, and a ſeat within to ſit on; and this the Impoſtor ever after made uſe of, leaving his beam. And thoſe, who, writing of Mahomet's miracles, tell us, among others, that a beam groaned at him, [x] mean this beam, which they ſay groaned at Mahomet's leaving of it, thereby expreſſing its grief for being thus deſerted. Othman Ebn Affan, when he came to be Caliph, hung his pulpit with tapeſtry, and Moawias advanced it higher, adding ſix ſteps more to it. For being [y] ſo exceeding fat that he could not ſtand while he officiated, as all his predeceſſors had done, he was forced to

[u] Abul Pharaghius, p. 339.
[x] Al Gazali, Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 188.
[y] Elmacin, lib. 1. c. 7. Eutychius, Tom. 2. p. 360. Abul Pharaghius, p. 124.

fit when he preached to the people; and therefore that he might be the better heard, he raiſed the pulpit to this heighth, and ſo it now remains in that moſque at Medina even to this day.

This year he led forth his army [z] againſt Chaibar, a city inhabited by Arabs of the Jewiſh religion, who being overthrown by him in battle, he beſieged their city, and took it by ſtorm. And here thoſe who are the magnifiers of Ali, tell this miracle of him, that in the aſſault, Samſon-like, he plucked up one of the gates of the city (which was of that weight, ſaith Abul Feda, that eight other men could not move it) and held it before him for a ſhield to defend himſelf againſt the beſieged, till the city was taken. On Mahomet's entering the town, he took up his quarters in the houſe of Horeth, one of the principal inhabitants of the place, whoſe daughter [a] Zainah, making ready a ſhoulder of mutton for his ſupper, poiſoned it. And here thoſe who are for aſcribing miracles to Mahomet, tell us that the ſhoulder of mutton ſpoke to him, and diſcovered that it was poiſoned; but it ſeems, if it did ſo, it was too late to do him any good. For Baſher, one of his companions, falling on too greedily to eat of it, fell down dead on the place. And although Mahomet had not immediately the ſame fate, becauſe not liking the taſte, he ſpit out again what he had taken into his mouth, yet he let down enough to do his buſineſs. For he was never well after this ſupper, and at three years end died of it. The maid being aſked why ſhe did this, anſwered, that ſhe had a mind to make trial whether he were a prophet, or no. For were he a prophet, ſaid ſhe, he could certainly know that the meat was poiſoned; and

[z] Abul Pharaghius, p. 102. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

[a] Abul Feda, Al Kodai, Al Jannabi, Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 8. Richardi Confutatio, c. 13. Pococki Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 189, 190.

therefore would receive no harm from it; but if he were not a prophet, ſhe thought ſhe ſhould do the world good ſervice, in ridding it of ſo wicked a tyrant.

After this [b] he reduced under his ſubjection Beder, Watiha, and Selalima, which were alſo towns belonging to the Jewiſh Arabs, who rendered to him on articles; and theſe were, that they ſhould continue in their former habitations, paying for tribute one half of the income of their date trees every year; but to be at his diſcretion to expel them when he ſhould think fit. Under the protection of which agreement they ſtill retained their former poſſeſſions, and dwelt in them without any diſturbance, till the reign of Omar, who pretending that Mahomet had given charge in his laſt ſickneſs not to permit two religions in Arabia, drove them all out.

Heg. 8. April 30. A. D. 629.] The Impoſtor, by thoſe many acquiſitions having now increaſed his ſtrength to an army of ten thouſand men, reſolved to make himſelf maſter of Mecca; and therefore pretending they had broken the truce, [c] marched ſuddenly upon them before they were aware of his deſign; and therefore being totally unprovided in that ſurprize to put themſelves into a poſture of defence againſt him, they found themſelves neceſſitated to yield to him. Whereon Abu Sophian taking with him Al Abbas, one of the uncles of the Impoſtor (who, although of his religion, had, it ſeems, tarried ſtill at Mecca) went out unto him, and by turning Mahometan, ſaved his life; and the city, without any oppoſition, was rendered to him at diſcretion. On his entry into it, having put to death ſuch as had been moſt violent againſt him, all the reſt, without any further oppoſition, ſubmitted unto him, and embraced his religion. And therefore having thus

[b] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.
[c] Abul Pharaghius, p. 103. Elmacinus, lib. 1. c. 1.

made himſelf abſolute maſter of the place, he immediately ſet himſelf to purge the caaba of its idols, and conſecrate that temple a-new to his religion, as having reſolved ſtill to continue it in its priſtine honour, by making it the chief place of worſhip for all of his ſect. There [d] were a multitude of idols within the temple, and as many without, ſtanding round its area, all which Mahomet cauſed to be pulled down and deſtroyed, and the place to be totally cleared of them. The chief among thoſe idols, were thoſe of Abraham and Iſmael within the temple, and that of Hoball without. The reſt were of angels and prophets, and others of their principal ſaints departed, whom they worſhipped only as mediators, in the ſame manner as the Romaniſts now do their ſaints, and the images which they erect unto them. For the Arabians always held, that there was [e] but one only God, the Creator and Governor of all things, whom they called *Allah Taal*, i. e. the *Supreme God*, and *God of gods*, and *Lord of lords*, whom they durſt never repreſent by any image. But being (as they held) ſo great and high as not to be approached to by men while here on earth, but through the mediation of advocates or interceſſors, interpoſing for them unto him in heaven; that angels and holy men beatified might perform this office for them, was the reaſon that they ſet up their images, and built them temples, and directed their worſhip and devotions unto them. And in this did conſiſt the whole of the Arabian idolatry, which Mahomet, now by deſtroying theſe idols, put a total end unto.

As ſoon as it was heard among the neighbouring Arabs, that Mahomet had made himſelf maſter of Mecca, the [f] Hawazins,

[d] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 95, 96, 97, 98.
[e] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 107, & 108.
[f] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

the Thakifians, and ſeveral other tribes, immediately gathered together under the command of Melec Ebn Auf, to fall upon him before he ſhould increaſe his power any further. Hereupon Mahomet, appointing Gayat Ebn Aſad to be governor of Mecca, marched out againſt them with twelve thouſand men. In the valley of Honaina, which lieth between Mecca and Tayif, both armies met, and in the firſt encounter Mahomet [g] was beaten, though much ſuperior to the enemy in number, and driven back to the walls of Mecca, [h] which he aſcribes to the over-confidence of his men in their numbers; which cauſing them to neglect their enemy, did thereby give them this advantage over them. But the Impoſtor [i] having gathered up his ſcattered forces, and rallied them again into a body, acted more cautiouſly in the ſecond conflict; and then [k] as he ſaith, by the help of inviſible troops of angels (which are reckoned by ſome commentators on the Alcoran, to be eight thouſand, and by others to be ſixteen thouſand) gave his enemies ſuch a total defeat, [l] that he took from them their baggage, with their wives and children, and all their ſubſtance, which conſiſted moſtly of great flocks of ſheep, and herds of cattle. For theſe being of the Nomad Arabs, it was their cuſtom to carry wives and children, and all that they had with them, wherever they moved. After this battle, theſe people ſent ambaſſadors unto him to pray the reſtoration of their wives and children; to whom Mahomet gave this option, to chuſe which they would have again reſtored unto them, either their wives and children, or their goods: whereon they having choſen their wives and children, Mahomet divided all their goods, which he had taken from them, among his ſoldiers.

[g] Zamachſhari, and Bidawi on the 9th chapter of the Alcoran.
[h] Alcoran, c. 9.
[i] Bidawi & Zamachſhari, ib.
[k] Alcoran, c. 9.
[l] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1.

Only Melec Ebn Auf, their general, now he ſaw his power was ſuch as no more to be reſiſted, came in and embraced his religion, and thereon had all his goods again reſtored unto him.

The remaining part of the year [m] was ſpent in demoliſhing the heathen temples, and deſtroying their idols in all places through Arabia, where his power reached. To which purpoſe, ſeveral of his commanders being ſent out with parties, Saad deſtroyed the idol of Menah; Chalid, that of Al Uzza, and the temple of Boſſa built thereto, and others the reſt of them. So that this year proved very fatal to the idols of the Arabs, they being moſt of them now deſtroyed, and the former worſhippers of them forced to ſubmit to Mahomet, and embrace his impoſture.

Heg. 9. April 20. A. D. 630.] And now having brought moſt parts of Arabia under his power, the enſuing year [n] he turned his arms towards Syria, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Tabuc, a town belonging to the Greek empire, and from thence falling on the princes of Dauman and Eyla, forced them to become tributaries unto him, and then returned to Medina in the month Rajeb. While he was abſent on this expedition, the Tayiſians, whom he had begun to beſiege the former year, being much preſſed by ſome of his lieutenants, whom he had committed the proſecution of that war unto, were forced to ſubmit and embrace his impoſture, which they had afore been ſo averſe unto; of which he having received an account on his return, he ſent thither Abu Sophian to diſarm them of all their weapons and inſtruments of war, and appointed Othman Ebn Abulas to be their governor. And this was the laſt year in which he went to the war.

[m] Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 91, & 92.
[n] Abul Pharaghius, p. 103. Elmacinus, lib. 1. c. 1.

Heg. 10. April 9. A. D. 631.] And now the power of the Impoſtor being much increaſed, the fame of it ſo terrified the reſt of the Arabs, which had not yet felt his arms, [o] that they all came in and ſubmitted to him, and embraced his impoſture. So that this year his empire and his religion became eſtabliſhed together through all Arabia, and he ſent his lieutenants into all parts of it to govern in his name, who deſtroying the idol temples, and all other the remains of the Arabian idolatry, wherever they came, ſet up his new invented religion in its ſtead, and forced all men, by the power of the ſword, to conform thereto.

The greateſt part of this year being ſpent in ordering and ſettling theſe matters, [p] towards the end of it Mahomet took a journey in pilgrimage to Mecca, and entered there on the tenth day of Dulhagha, which is the great day of that ſolemnity, where a great concourſe of people reſorted to him from all parts of Arabia, whom he inſtructed in his law, and then returned again to Medina. This pilgrimage of his is by his followers called the *pilgrimage of valediction*, becauſe it was the laſt which he made.

But although he was arrived to this heighth, yet he wanted not oppoſers, who gave him great diſturbance in this his new-acquired empire. For ſeveral others ſeeing how he had advanced himſelf to be a great king, by pretending to be a prophet, thought to do ſo too. [q] Among whom the chief was Moſailema, who ſet himſelf up with this pretence in the country of Yamama, and gathering a great company after him, preached to them that he was aſſociate with Mahomet in the prophetic office, and ſent with the ſame commiſſion to reduce

[o] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Feda.

[p] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Feda, Abul Pharaghius, p. 103.

[q] Abul Pharaghius, p. 103. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. & 2. Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 17.

them from idolatry to the true worſhip of God, and in order thereto he alſo publiſhed his Alcoran among them. For which reaſon the Mahometans call him the *lying Moſailema*, and ſpeak of him always with deteſtation. However, he increaſed to a very conſiderable power, leading a great army after him. [r] And at the ſame time Aſwad ſtarted up in Hamyar, or the country of the Homerites, with the ſame pretence, and ſeized on Sanaa, Naſra, and Tayif. And after him Teliha, and others thought to have played the ſame game, but could not hit on the ſame ſucceſs, being all in their turns ſubdued and brought to nothing. But this work Mahomet not being able to undertake himſelf, was forced to leave it to his ſucceſſor.

Heg. 11. March 28. A. D. 632.] For after his return [s] to Medina from his late pilgrimage, he began daily to decline, through the force of that poiſon which he had taken three years before at Caibar, which ſtill working in him, at length brought him ſo low, as forced him on the 28th day of Saphar (the ſecond month of their year) to take his bed, and on the twelfth day of the following month he died, after having been ſick thirteen days. The beginning of his ſickneſs was a ſlow fever, which at length made him delirious; whereon [t] he called for a pen, ink, and paper, telling them that he would dictate a book to them, which ſhould keep them from erring after his death. But Omar would not admit this, ſaying the Alcoran ſufficeth, and that the prophet, through the greatneſs of his malady, knew not what he ſaid. But others who were

[r] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1, &c.

[s] Abul Pharaghius, p. 103. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Eutychius, Tom. 2. p. 251. Abul Feda, Al Jannabi, Al Kodai, Shareſtani, &c.

[t] Bochari, Shareſtani, Al Jannabi, Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 178, 179.

preſent, were of another mind, and expreſſed a great deſire that the book might be wrote, which their prophet ſpoke to them of; whereon a contention aroſe between them, ſome being of Omar's mind, and ſome of the contrary; at which Mahomet taking offence, bid them all be gone, telling them, that it did not become them thus to contend in his preſence. So the book was not wrote; the loſs of which was afterwards lamented by ſome of his followers, as a great calamity to their cauſe.

During his ſickneſs, [u] he much complained of that bit which he had taken at Caibar, telling thoſe that came to viſit him, that he had felt the torments of it in his body ever ſince; that at times it brought on him very dolorous pains, and that then it was going to break his very heart-ſtrings. And when, among others, there came to ſee him the mother of Baſhar, who died on the ſpot of that poiſon, [x] he cried out, 'O mo-'ther of Baſhar, the veins of my heart are now breaking of 'the bit which I eat with your ſon at Caibar.' So it ſeems, notwithſtanding the intimacy he pretended with the angel Gabriel, and the continual revelations which he bragged that he received from him, he could not be preſerved from thus periſhing by the ſnares of a ſilly girl.

On his death, there was great confuſion among his followers. Many of them [y] would not believe that he could die. 'For' ſaid they 'how can he die, ſince he is to be a witneſs to God 'for us? It cannot be ſo, he is not dead, but is only taken 'away for a ſeaſon, and will return again, as did Jeſus.' And therefore they went to the door of the houſe where the dead corps lay, crying out, 'do not bury him, for the apoſtle of God

[u] Abul Feda, Ebnol Athir, Ebn Phares, Al Jannabi.
[x] Al Jannabi, Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 190.
[y] Abul Feda, Shareſtani, Al Jannabi, Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 179.

'is not dead. And Omar being of the ſame mind, drew his ſword, and ſwore, that if any one ſhould ſay that Mahomet was dead, he would immediately cut them to pieces. 'For' ſaid he 'the apoſtle of God is not dead, but only gone for a 'ſeaſon; as Moſes the ſon of Amram was gone from the peo-'ple of Iſrael for forty days, and then returned to them again.' For the compoſing of this diſorder, Abu Beker came in, crying out unto them, 'Do you worſhip Mahomet, or the God 'of Mahomet? If you worſhip the God of Mahomet, he is 'immortal, and liveth for ever; but as to Mahomet, he cer-'tainly is dead.' And then from ſeveral paſſages in the Alcoran, he proved that he muſt die as well as other men. Which having ſatisfied Omar and his party, they then all took it for granted that Mahomet was dead, and no more to return to life again till the general reſurrection of all mankind. What goes ſo current among us, as if the Mahometans expected Mahomet again to return to them here on earth, is totally an error. There is no ſuch doctrine among them, nor are there any of them that ever fancied ſuch a thing, ſince the time that Omar was convinced of his miſtake herein.

But this diſorder was no ſooner appeaſed, [2] but another aroſe to a much greater heat about his burial. The Mohagerins, that is, thoſe who accompanied him in his flight from Mecca, would have him carried thither, to be buried in the place where he was born. The Anſars, that is, thoſe of Medina, who joined with him, would have him buried there where he died. And there were others who had a fancy to have him carried to Jeruſalem, and there buried among the ſepulchres of the prophets: for that, ſaid they, was the city of the prophets. And while each party ſtrove to have their own way

[2] Abul Pharaghius, p. 103. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Abul Feda, Shareſtani, Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 180.

complied with, the conteſt grew ſo high, that they had like to have all gone together by the ears; but that the wiſdom of Abu Beker compoſed this matter alſo. For he coming in, told them, that he had often heard from the prophet himſelf, that prophets were to be buried in the place where they died. And then without more ado, commanded the bed whereon he lay to be plucked out, and a grave to be immediately dug under it, to which all conſented, and there they buried him forthwith in the place where he died, which was in the chamber of Ayeſha, his beſt beloved wife, at Medina; and there he lieth to this day, without iron coffin or loadſtones to hang him in the air, as the ſtories which commonly go about of him among Chriſtians fabulouſly relate. There was, indeed, [a] one Dinocrates, a famous architect, that had a device, by building the dome of the temple of Arſinoe at Alexandria of loadſtone, to make her image all of iron, hang in the middle of it, as if it were in the air; but there was no ſuch attempt ever made as to Mahomet's carcaſe. For that being buried in the manner as I have related, hath lain in the ſame place, without being moved or diſturbed ever ſince, only they have built over it [b] a ſmall chapel, which joineth to one of the corners of the chief moſque of that city, which was the firſt that was ever erected to that impious ſuperſtition, Mahomet himſelf being the firſt founder of it, as hath been afore related. Here ſuch pilgrims as think fit, on their return from Mecca, call in to pay their devotions. But there is no obligation from their law for it. The pilgrimage which that enjoins being to be performed to the caaba at Mecca, and not to the tomb of the Impoſtor at Medina, as ſome have erroneouſly related.

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[a] Plinius, l. 34. c. 14.

[b] Appendix ad Geographiam Nubienſem, c. 8. Thevenot, Part 1. Book 2. c. 21.

And thus ended the life of this wicked Impoſtor [c] being full ſixty-three years old on the day in which he died, that is, according to the Arabian account, which make only ſixty-one of our years. For twenty-three years he had taken upon him to be a prophet, of which he lived thirteen at Mecca, and ten at Medina. During which time, from very mean beginnings, he aroſe by the impulſe of his ambition, and the ſagaciouſneſs of his wit to that heighth, as to make one of the greateſt revolutions that ever happened in the world, which immediately gave birth to an empire, which in eighty years time extended its dominions over more kingdoms and countries, than ever the Roman could in eight hundred. And although it continued in its ſtrength not much above three hundred years, yet out of its aſhes have ſprung up many other kingdoms and empires, of which there are three at this day, the largeſt and moſt potent upon the face of the earth; I mean the empire of Turkey, the empire of Perſia, and the empire of the Mogul in India; which God hath permitted of his all-wiſe providence ſtill to continue for a ſcourge unto us Chriſtians, who, having received ſo holy and ſo excellent a religion through his mercy to us in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, will not yet conform ourſelves to live worthy of it.

He [d] was, as to his perſon, of a proper ſtature, and comely aſpect, and affected much to be thought to reſemble Abraham. He had a very piercing and ſagacious wit. And for the accompliſhing of the deſign which he undertook, was thoroughly verſed in all the arts whereby to inſinuate into the favour of men, and wheedle them over to ſerve his purpoſes, to which he chiefly owed the ſucceſs of his undertaking.

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[c] Eutychius, Tom. 2. p. 251. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Abul Pharaghius, p. 103. Abul Feda, Al Jannabi, Al Kodai, &c.

[d] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 1. Abunazar, Abul Feda, Al Kodai, Schikardi Tarich, p. 32.

For the firſt part of his life [e] he led a very wicked and licentious courſe, much delighting in rapine, plunder, and bloodſhed, according to the uſage of the Arabs, who moſtly followed this kind of life, being almoſt continually in arms one tribe againſt another, to plunder and take from each other all they could. However, the Mahometans would have us believe that he was a ſaint from the fourth year of his age. For then, ſay [f] they, the angel Gabriel took him from among his fellows, while at play with them, and carrying him aſide, cut open his breaſt, and took out his heart, and wrung out of it that black drop of blood, in which, ſay they, was contained the *fomes peccati*, ſo that he had none of it ever after. And yet in the forty-eighth chapter of his Alcoran, he brings in God giving him a large charter of pardon for all his ſins paſt and to come.

His two predominant paſſions were ambition and luſt. The courſe which he took to gain empire, abundantly ſhews the former; and the multitude of women which he had to do with, proves the latter. And indeed theſe two run through the whole frame of his religion, there being ſcarce a chapter in his Alcoran, which doth not lay down ſome law of war and bloodſhed for the promoting of the one; or elſe give ſome liberty for the uſe of women here, or ſome promiſe for the enjoyment of them hereafter, to the gratifying of the other.

While Cadigha lived (which was till the fiftieth year of his age) I do not find that he took any other wife. For ſhe being the riſe and foundation of his fortunes, it ſeems he durſt not diſpleaſe her, by bringing in another wife upon her. But ſhe was no ſooner dead, but he multiplied them to a great [g] num-

[e] Bartholomæus Edeſſenus, Diſputatio Chriſtiani, &c.

[f] Liber de Generatione & nutritura Mahometis, Joannes Andreas, c. 1. Bellonius, l. 3. c. 1. Guadagnol, p. 169. e libro Agar. Ecchelenſis, Hiſt. Arab. part 1. c. 23.

[g] Appendix ad Geographiam Nubienſem, c. 8. Joannes Andreas, c. 7. Bellonius, l. 3, &c.

, beſides ſeveral concubines which he had. They that ſay the feweſt, allow him to have married [h] fifteen; but others reckon them to have been [i] one and twenty, of which five died before him, ſix he repudiated, and ten were alive at his death. But the tenth, with whom he contracted but a little before his ſickneſs, was never brought home to his houſe. The names of the other nine were Ayeſha, the daughter of Abu Beker; Haphſa, the daughter of Omar; Zewda, the daughter of Zama; Zainab, the daughter of Haſheth; Jeweira, the daughter of Hareth; Sephiah, the daughter of Hai; Em Selema, Em Haliba, and Maimuna.

Ayeſha, the daughter of Abu Beker, was his beſt beloved wife. He married her very young, as hath been before related; and although ſhe was a very wanton woman, and [k] given to hold amorous intrigues with other men, and on that account Mahomet was moved to put her away; yet his love to her was ſuch, that he could not part with her. But to ſalve her reputation, and his own in keeping her, the twenty-fourth chapter of the Alcoran was compoſed, and brought forth as ſent from God to declare her innocent; wherein he tells his muſslemans, that this charge againſt her was an impoſture, and an impudent lie, and forbids them any more to ſpeak of it, threatening a ſevere curſe, both in this life and that which is to come, againſt all thoſe who ſhould accuſe of immodeſty, women chaſte, innocent and faithful. Mahomet marrying her young, took care to have her bred up [l] in all the learning then going in Arabia, eſpecially in the elegancy of their language, and the knowledge of their antiquities, and ſhe became one of the moſt accompliſhed ladies of her

[h] Abul Feda, Al Kodai, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef.
[i] Vide Gentium in Notis ad Muſladinum Sadum, p. 568.
[k] Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 6. Commentatores in Alcoraui c. 24.
[l] Appendix ad Geographiam Nubienſem, c. 8.

time in that country. She was a [m] bitter enemy to Ali, he being the perſon that diſcovered her incontinency to Mahomet, and therefore employed all the intereſt ſhe had on every vacancy that after happened, to hinder him from being choſen Caliph, although, as ſon-in-law to the Impoſtor, he had the faireſt pretence thereto; and when at laſt, after having been thrice put by, he attained that dignity, ſhe appeared in arms againſt him; and although ſhe prevailed not that way, yet ſhe proved his ruin, by cauſing that defection from him, which at length was the undoing of him and all his houſe. She [n] lived forty-eight years after the death of Mahomet, and was in great reputation with her ſect, being called by them the *propheteſs*, and the *mother of the faithful*. And in moſt points of difficulty concerning their law, they had recourſe to her, to know what had been the ſenſe of the Impoſtor while alive, in the particular doubted of; and whatſoever anſwer ſhe gave, went for an [o] authentic tradition among them ever after. For all their traditions which compoſe their Sonnah, are pretended to be derived either from her, or ſome of Mahomet's ten companions; that is, thoſe ten who firſt came in unto him. But her teſtimony to a tradition is reckoned the moſt authentic; and next her, that of Abdorrahman Ebn Auf. For [p] being of all others the moſt familiarly converſant with the Impoſtor all the time that ſcene of deluſion was acting by him, and a perſon of extraordinary memory; he was moſt confided in for the giving of an exact account of all his ſayings and doings relating to his religion; and there are reckoned no fewer than

[m] Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 6. Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 4. Abul Pharaghius, Abul Feda, &c.

[n] 'For ſhe died the 58th year of the Hegira,' Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 7.

[o] Joannes Andreas, c. 3.

[p] Gentius in Notis ad Muſladinum Sadum, p. 578.

5340 traditions among them, which are built upon his authority only. This Abdorrahman is alſo called *Abu Hareira*, that is, the *father of a cat*, which name Mahomet gave him for the fondneſs he had for a cat, which he was uſed moſt an end to carry with him in his boſom, wherever he went. For it is uſual in the Arabic tongue, when a man is remarkable for any one particular thing, thus to expreſs it, by calling him the father of it. [q] And ſo Chalid, who was Mahomet's hoſt when he firſt came to Medina, was for his remarkable patience called *Abu Job*, that is, the *father of Job*, or of the *patience of Job*. And this is that Job, [r] who dying at the ſiege of Conſtantinople, when beſieged by the Saracens, was there buried under the walls of the city, and hath his tomb there to be ſeen even to this day, [s] where all the Grand Signiors go forth to be inaugurated, when they firſt take upon them the regal authority.

Haphſa, the daughter of Omar, was next to [t] Ayeſha, moſt in favour with him, and her he intruſted with the keeping of the cheſt of his apoſtleſhip, wherein were laid up all the original papers of his pretended revelations, out of which the Alcoran was compoſed, as hath been already ſaid; and the original copy of that book, [u] Abu Beker, after the finiſhing of it, delivered alſo unto her, to be kept in the ſame cheſt; which proves the miſtake of Joannes Andreas [x] in aſſigning the keeping of this cheſt to Ayeſha. For it is not likely that Abu Beker would have diſpoſſeſſed his own daughter of this office, which was ſo honourable among them, had ſhe been

[q] Bochartus in Hierozoico, part 1. c. 1.

[r] Elmacin. lib. 1. c. 7.

[s] Ricaut's Hiſtory of the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, Book 1. chap. 2. Smith's Brief Deſcription of Conſtantinople.

[t] Joannes Andreas, c. 7.

[u] Abul Feda, Hottingeri Bibliotheca Orientalis, c. 2. Pococ. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 362.

[x] De Confuſione Sectæ Mahometanæ, c. 2.

firſt entruſted with it by the Impoſtor. Haphſa was much the elder woman, and for that reaſon probably preferred to this truſt. For when ſhe died, which was towards the latter end of the reign of Othman, ſhe was ſixty years [y] old, and therefore muſt have been at the death of the Impoſtor, at leaſt forty years old, when Ayeſha was not full twenty.

Zewda was in leaſt favour with him of any of his wives, [z] and he intended to have put her away; but ſhe earneſtly deſired him that ſhe might ſtill have the reputation and honour of being his wife, promiſing him, if he would grant her this, ſhe would be content no more to lie with him, but to give her turn always to Ayeſha; which condition he willingly accepted of, out of that great love which he had for Ayeſha, and ſo permitted her to continue in his houſe as long as he lived.

Zainab was firſt the wife of Zeyd, his enfranchiſed ſlave, who being a woman of great beauty, [a] the old lecher fell deſperately in love with her. But for fear of the ſcandal which his taking her might give, he did all he could to ſuppreſs his flame, till at length, being able to reſiſt no longer, he did break the matter to her, and cauſed Zeyd to put her away, that he might take her to wife. Which he being forced to ſubmit to, this gave great offence to all his followers, that he, who called himſelf a prophet, and an apoſtle of God, ſent to teach men his law, ſhould for the gratifying of his luſt, do ſo ſcandalous a thing. But to ſalve the matter, out comes the thirty-

[y] Gentius in Notis ad Muſladinum Sadum, p. 568.

[z] Gentius in Notis ad Muſladinum Sadum, p. 568.

[a] Al Jannabi, Abul Feda, Al Kodai, Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab, p. 182. Richardi Confutatio, c. 8. Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 6. Ecchelenſis Hiſt. Arab. part 1. c. 5. Confutatio Mahometis, Edita per Le Moyne. Joannes Andreas, c. 6. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 5. § 3. & c. 10. § 1. Zamachſhari, Bidawi & alii Commentatores, ad cap. 33. Alcorani, Liber Almawakeph. Fortalit. Fid. lib. 4. Conſid. 2.

third chapter of the Alcoran, called the *Chapter of Herefies*, where God is brought in declaring, that he had married Zainab to Mahomet, and given him free liberty to enjoy her according to his defire; and alfo rebuking him, that knowing God had given him this thing, he fhould abftain fo long from her, out of the regard he had to the people, as if he feared them more than God. However, this could not clear him fo, but that many of his followers are hard put to it, to excufe him from the fcandal of this fact, even unto this day; and there are fome of them who make no doubt to charge him with fin on the account hereof. Zainab hereon becoming the wife of Mahomet, lived with him to the time of his death, always glorying and vaunting herfelf above his other wives, that [b] whereas they were married to Mahomet by their parents and kinsfolk, fhe was married to him by God himfelf, who dwells above the feven heavens.

How he married Jeweira, hath been already related. [c] Saphia was a Jewifh woman, and defcended of the race of the prieffs, on which account fhe was ufed to brag, that fhe had Aaron for her father, Mofes for her uncle, and Mahomet for her hufband. Of the reft of his wives I find not any thing faid.

Befides thefe, he had a concubine whom he much loved. She was [d] an Egyptian woman, and a Chriftian of the Jacobite fect. The governor of Egypt having occafion to treat with him about fome matters, and being informed of his brutifh paffion, to gratify him herein, and thereby the better incline him to his purpofe, fent him this maid for a prefent, fhe being

[b] Ecchelenfis Hift. Arab. part 1. c. 5.

[c] Difputatio Chriftiani, c. 6.

[d] Abul Pharaghius, p. 103. Joannes Andreas, c. 8. Bellonius, l. 3. c. 8. Richardi Confutatio, c. 12. Cantacuzeni, Orat. 2. § 8. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 10. § 2. Commentatores in c. 66. Alcorani, Fortalitium Fidei, lib. 4. Confid. 2.

then only fifteen years old: he immediately fell in love with her. But how ſecret ſoever he managed the amours for fear of his wives, Ayeſha and Haphſa found it out, and catched them together in the fact. Whereon they reproached him bitterly for it, that he, who called himſelf a prophet ſent from God to teach men righteouſneſs, ſhould do ſuch a thing; at which being much confounded, he ſwore a ſolemn oath, that in caſe they would conceal the matter, and not ſay any thing of it to raiſe a ſcandal againſt him among his Muſſlemans, he would never have to do with her more. On which oath they were content to paſs the matter over, and ſay nothing of it. But Mahomet's luſt being of greater force with him than his oath, he could not long hold, but was catched again with her by his jealous wives. Whereon they flew out into a deſperate rage againſt him, and after having loaded him with a multitude of reproaches, both for his perjury as well as adultery, went from him to their fathers houſes; which raiſing a great noiſe, and many being offended with him for it, to ſmooth the matter again, he had recourſe to his old art, and out comes a new revelation to juſtify him in it, the ſixty-ſixth chapter of the Alcoran, called the *Chapter of Prohibition*, wherein he brings in God allowing Mahomet, and all his Muſſlemans, to lie with their maids when they will, notwithſtanding their wives. The firſt words of that chapter are, 'O prophet, why doſt thou 'forbid what God hath allowed thee, that thou mayeſt pleaſe 'thy wives? God hath granted unto you to lie with your 'maid-ſervants.' Which law being publiſhed, it gave ſuch content to his licentious followers, that no more words were made of this matter; but all gladly laid hold of the liberty which he had granted; and ever ſince it hath been an eſtabliſhed law among all that ſect, beſide their wives [c] to keep as

[c] Ricaut's Hiſtory of the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire,

many women-ſlaves for their luſt, as they ſhall think fit to buy; and the children of the one are as legitimate as the children of the other. And the Grand Signior, who never marries, hath all his women under this latter notion, that is, as his ſlaves, and he keeps none but ſuch in his ſeraglio; only after they have born him a ſon, he ſometimes gives them the name of Sultana, which is Queen. Ayeſha and Haphſa, finding the matter to go thus, and that Mahomet had in the ſame chapter threatened them with divorce, unleſs they ſubmitted and were obedient; they ſent their fathers to him to make their peace, and again returned to his houſe, and totally ſubmitted, for the future, to his will in all things; and from that time he lay with his maid Mary as often as he pleaſed, without their any further contradiction or control, and had a ſon by her, who was called Abraham. But after the death of the Impoſtor, no account was had of her or her ſon, but both were ſent away into Egypt, and no mention made of either ever after among them. I ſuppoſe Ayeſha, out of the hatred which ſhe bore her, procured of her father, who ſucceeded the Impoſtor in the government, to have her thus diſpoſed of.

One of the main arguments [f] which the followers of Mahomet make uſe of to excuſe his having ſo many wives, is, that he might beget young prophets; but notwithſtanding this, he left no young prophet nor propheteſs neither behind him of all his wives. Of [g] ſix children, which he had all by Cadigha his firſt wife, and none by any of the others, they all died before him, excepting only Fatima the wife of Ali, and ſhe ſurvived him only ſixty days.

As the gratifying of his ambition and his luſt, was the main

Book 2. chap. 21. Thevenot, part 1. lib. 1. c. 14. Belloniuſ, lib. 3. c. 8. & c. 10. Clenardi Epiſtolæ, p. 29, 30, 50, & 66.

[f] Ahmed Ebn Zin. [g] Abul Pharaghius, p. 103.

end of his impoſture, ſo they both continually appear through the whole contexture of it. At firſt his ambition had the predominancy in him; but when that began to be ſomewhat ſatisfied by the power he had attained to, his luſt grew upon him with his age, and at length he ſeemed totally diſſolved into it. And there are ſtrange things ſaid of him this way; [h] as that he had in venery the ſtrength of forty other men, and that he knew all his wives, when he had eleven of them, one after another in an [i] hour's time. Whatever laws he gave to reſtrain the luſt of other men, he took care always to except himſelf, reſolving, it ſeems, to take his full ſwing herein without let or control, according as the violent bent of his brutiſh appetite this way ſhould lead him. For,

1. He [k] would not allow any other to have above four wives, but to himſelf [l] he reſerved a liberty to marry without reſtraint, as many as he ſhould think fit, and he had ten together at the ſame time when he died.

2. He obliged all others, who have two, three, or four wives, to uſe them all equally alike, both as to their cloathing, diet, and the duties of the marriage-bed. And in caſe any wife thinks herſelf unequally uſed in any of thoſe particulars, and that the huſband doth not as largely diſpenſe to her of them, as to his other wives, it is allowed through all Mahometan countries, that ſhe make her complaint to the judge, and the law will give her redreſs herein, and force the huſband to do her juſtice. But Mahomet reſerved liberty to himſelf to do as he ſhould ſee fit as to this; and therefore when ſome of his

[h] Fortalit. Fid. lib. 4. Confid. 2. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 7. § 1. Richardi Confutatio, c. 8. Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 6.

[i] Joannes Andreas, e libro Aſmali, c. 7. Guadagnol ex eodem libro, Tract. 2. c. 7. § 1.

[k] Alcoran, c. 4.

[l] Alcoran, c. 33. Joannes Andreas, c. 7. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 10. § 3. Alcoran, c. 4.

wives were aggrieved, becauſe he ſhewed more favour to the other, and particularly to Ayeſha, than to them, and made complaints againſt him on this account; to ſtill their clamours, he brings in God in the thirty-third chapter of his Alcoran, giving him full liberty to deal with his wives as he ſhould think fit, to go in to which he pleaſed, and abſtain from which he pleaſed; and commanding them to be content herewith, and alſo to be well pleaſed with whatever elſe he ſhould do in reference to them, accepting as a favour from him whatſoever he ſhould give them, and take exceptions at nothing which he ſhould be pleaſed to order concerning them.

3. In the fourth chapter of his Alcoran, which is called the *Chapter of women*, he forbids his Muſslemans to marry with their mothers, their mothers-in-law, the wives of their fathers, their daughters, the ſiſters of their fathers, the ſiſter of their mothers, the daughters of their brothers, the daughters of their ſiſters, their nurſes, their foſter-ſiſters, the mothers of their wives, the ſiſters of their wives, the daughters of their wives by other huſbands, the daughters of women whom they have known, and the wives of their ſons, and the married wives of other men. And yet in the thirty-third chapter he brings in God exempting him from this law, and giving him an eſpecial privilege to take to wife the daughters of his brother, or the daughters of his ſiſter, and to go in to any other woman whatſoever of the believers, that ſhall be willing to proſtitute herſelf unto him. But he there takes care to appropriate this liberty ſo peculiarly to himſelf alone, that he excludes all others whatſoever from it. For it ſeems the old lecher feared his luſt ſhould not be ſufficiently provided for, if any thing leſs than the whole ſex were allowed him for the gratifying of it; and therefore would endure no reſtraint or limitation upon himſelf herein, how ſtrictly ſoever he lays it upon others. In the above mentioned law he forbids the marrying of the wives

of other men; and abundant reaſon there is for it, that no man ſhall be allowed adulterouſly to take to wife her that is at the ſame time the wife of another; and yet he tranſgreſſed it in marrying the wife of his ſervant Zeyd. But to allay the ſcandal and offence which was taken at it, and to ſecure others from fearing the like injury and violence from him, he was content after that to lay a reſtraint upon himſelf to do ſo no more; and therefore brings in God, telling him in the ſame thirty-third chapter of his Alcoran, that it ſhall not be lawful for him for the future to take another man's wife, how much ſoever he may be taken with her beauty.

As he was thus brutiſhly enſlaved to the love of women, ſo was he as exceſſively jealous of thoſe whom he had taken to wife. And therefore to deter them from what he feared [m] he threatens them with double the puniſhment of other wives, both here and hereafter, in caſe they ſhould be falſe unto him. And when ſome of his followers made too frequent reſort to his houſe, and there entered into diſcourſe with ſome of his wives, this gave him that offence, that to prevent it for the future, out come, as from God, thoſe verſes of the Alcoran [n] wherein he tells them, that they ſhould not enter into the houſe of the prophet without permiſſion; and that if invited to dine with him, they ſhould depart as ſoon as dinner was over, and not enter into diſcourſe with his wives; that although the prophet be aſhamed to bid them be gone, yet God is not aſhamed to tell them the truth. And in the ſame chapter he forbids his wives to ſpeak to any man, unleſs with their faces vailed. And this his jealouſy proceeded ſo far, as to go beyond the grave. For he could not bear that any one elſe ſhould have to do with his wives, though after his death; and therefore [o] ſtrictly forbids all his followers ever to go in to any

[m] Alcoran, c. 33. [n] Alcoran, ibid. [o] Alcoran, ibid.

of them as long as they ſhould live. So that although all other women when repudiated, or become widows, had liberty to marry again, all his wives were excluded from it. And therefore all thoſe whom he left at his death [p] lived widows ever after, although ſome of them were very young; as particularly Ayeſha, who was not then full twenty years old, and lived above eight and forty years after, which was in that hot country looked upon as a very hard reſtraint put upon them.

In all theſe inſtances I have mentioned, it appears how much he made his impoſture ſerve his luſt. And indeed, almoſt the whole of his Alcoran was [q] in like manner framed to anſwer ſome purpoſe or other of his, according as occaſion required. If any new thing were to be put on foot, any objection againſt him or his religion to be anſwered, any difficulty to be ſolved, any diſcontent among his people to be quieted, any offence to be removed, or any thing elſe done for the intereſt of his deſigns, his conſtant recourſe was to the angel Gabriel for a new revelation; and out came ſome addition to his Alcoran to ſerve his turn herein. So that the moſt of it was made on ſuch like occaſions, to influence his party to what he intended. And all his commentators thus far acknowledge it, that they are on every chapter very particular in aſſigning for what cauſes and for whoſe ſakes it was ſent down from heaven unto them. But hereby it came to paſs that abundance of contradictions got into this book. For as the intereſt and the deſign of the Impoſtor varied, ſo was he forced to make his pretended revelations to vary alſo; which is a thing ſo well known to thoſe of his ſect, that they all acknowledge it; and therefore where the contradictions are

[p] Joannes Andreas, c. 7.
[q] Richardi Confutatio, c. 12.

ſuch, as they cannot ſalve them, there they will have one of the contradicting places to be revoked. And they reckon in the whole Alcoran, [r] above an hundred and fifty verſes which are thus revoked; which is the beſt ſhift they can make to ſalve the contradictions and inconſiſtencies of it. But thereby they do exceedingly betray the unſteadineſs and inconſtancy of him that was the author of it.

In the beginning of his impoſture, he ſeemed more inclined to the Jews than to the Chriſtians; and in the firſt forming of his new-invented religion, followed the pattern of theirs more than any other. But after his coming to Medina, he took that diſguſt againſt them, that he became their bitter and moſt irreconcilable enemy ever after, and uſed them with greater cruelty in his wars, than any other he had to deal with.

But to the Chriſtians he ever carried himſelf with as much favour as could be expected from ſuch a barbarian; and wherever they fell under his power, they had always good terms from him. His general rule, and which he laid as a ſtrict obligation upon all his followers, was to fight for the propagation of his religion. And [s] there were only two conditions on which he granted peace to any he had to do with; and theſe were either to come into his religion, or ſubmit to be tributaries unto him. They that did the former, were admitted into the ſame privileges and freedoms with the reſt of his followers: but the latter had only the benefit of his protection, as to their goods and perſons, and free exerciſe of their religion, without any other privilege or advantage whatſoever,

[r] Joannes Andreas, c. 2. Guadagnol, Tract. 2. c. 7. § 3.
[s] Alcoran, c. 4. c. 9, &c. Diſputatio Chriſtiani, c. 8. Richardi Confutatio, c. 1, 6, 7, & 10. Cantacuzeni, Orat. 1.

for which every man paid an annual tribute. But thoſe who would not come in, and make peace with him on one of theſe two conditions, were by his law to be put to the ſword. And this law, in every one of its particulars, is ſtill obſerved in all Mahometan countries, even to this day. At firſt few ſubmitted to him, but ſuch as he forced by conqueſt; but when his power grew to be formidable, then multitudes, both of Chriſtians and other religions, flocked to him for his protection, and became his tributaries. And there hath in this laſt age been publiſhed, firſt by Sionita at Paris, and after by Fabricius at Roſtoch, a writing in Arabic, which bears the title of an Ancient Capitulation of the Chriſtians of the Eaſt with this Impoſtor, which is ſaid to have been laid up in the monaſtery of Mount Carmel in Paleſtine, and from thence brought into France, and repoſited in the French king's library. But [t] Grotius rejects it as a forgery; and good reaſon he had ſo to do. For it bears date in the fourth year of the Hegira, when Mahomet was not yet in a condition to ſpeak in that language which he is made to do in that writing; nor was his power then ſo formidable, as to move any to pray his protection, he having not long before been overthrown and beaten at the battle of Ohud; and at the time this Inſtrument bears date (which was the fourth month of that year) not fully recovered from that blow; but in the loweſt circumſtances he had at any time been ſince the taking the ſword for the propagating of his impoſture; and there is another particular in it, which manifeſtly diſcovers the forgery: it makes Moawias, the ſon of Abu Sophian, to be the ſecretary to the Impoſtor, who drew the Inſtrument; whereas it is certain, that Moawias, with his father Abu Sophian, was then in arms againſt him;

[t] In Epiſt. ad Gallos.

and it was not till the taking of Mecca, which was four years after, that they came in unto him, and to ſave their lives embraced the impoſture. This Inſtrument is to be read in Engliſh, in the Hiſtory of the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, Book 2. chap. ii.

However, this is certain, that the Chriſtians had better terms from him, than any other of his tributaries, and they enjoy them even to this day; there being no Mahometan country where their religion is not eſteemed the beſt next their own, and the profeſſors of it accordingly reſpected by them before the Jews, Heathens, or any other ſort of men that differ from them.

As the Impoſtor allowed the Old and New Teſtament, ſo would he fain prove his miſſion from both. The texts, which are made uſe of for this purpoſe by thoſe who defend his cauſe, are theſe following:

Deuteronomy, c. 33. v. 2. It is ſaid, 'The Lord came from 'Sinai, and roſe up from Seir unto them; he ſhined forth 'from mount Pharan, and he came with ten thouſand of 'ſaints; from his right hand went a fiery law for them.' By which words they will have [u] meant the coming down of the law to Moſes on mount Sinai; of the goſpel to Jeſus at Jeruſalem, and of the Alcoran to Mahomet at Mecca. For, ſay they, Seir are the mountains of Jeruſalem where Jeſus appeared, and Pharan the mountains of Mecca where Mahomet appeared. But they are here much out in their geography; for Pharan [x] is a city of Arabia Petræa, near the Red Sea, towards the bottom of that Gulf not far from the confines of Egypt and Paleſtine, above five hundred miles diſtant from Mecca. It was formerly [y] an Epiſcopal See under the patriarch of Jeru-

[u] Shareſtani Safiodinus, Pocockii Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 185.
[x] Ptolemy.
[y] Geographia Sacra Caroli a Sancto Paulo, p. 317.

ſalem, and famous for Theodorus [z] once biſhop of it, who was the firſt that in his writings publiſhed to the world the opinion of the Monothelites. It is at this day called [a] Fara. From hence the deſarts lying from this city to the borders of Paleſtine, are called the deſarts or wilderneſs of Pharan; and the mountains lying in it, the mountains of Pharan, in holy Scripture, near which Moſes firſt began to repeat, and more clearly explain the law to the children of Iſrael before his death; and to that refers the text above mentioned.

Pſal. 50. v. 2. We have it, 'Out of Sion, the perfection of 'beauty, God hath ſhined.' Which the Syriac verſion reads thus, 'Out of Sion God hath ſhewed a glorious crown.' From whence ſome Arabic tranſlations having expreſſed the two laſt words by *Eclilan Mahmudan*, i. e. an *honourable crown*; by *Mahmudan*, they underſtand the name of Mahomet, and ſo read the verſe thus, 'Out of Sion hath God ſhewed the 'crown of Mahomet.'

Iſaiah, c. 21. v. 7. We read, 'and he ſaw a chariot with a 'couple of horſemen, a chariot of aſſes, and a chariot of ca-'mels.' But the old Latin verſion hath it, *Et vidit currum duorum Equitum, Aſcenſorem Aſini, & Aſcenſorem Cameli*: i. e. *And he ſaw a chariot of two horſemen, a rider upon an aſs, and a rider upon a camel.* Where by the rider upon an aſs, they underſtand Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe he did ſo ride to Jeruſalem; and by the rider on the camel, Mahomet, becauſe he was of the Arabians, who uſed to ride upon camels.

John 16. v. 7. Our Saviour tells his diſciples, 'If I go not 'away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I de-'part, I will ſend him unto you.' By the Comforter, the Ma-

[z] Acta Concilii Laterani ſub Martino Papa.

[a] Carolus a Sancto Paulo ubi ſupra. Geographia Nubienſis, Clim. 3. Part 5.

hometans will have their prophet Mahomet to be here meant; and therefore among other titles which they give him in their language, one is *Paraclet* [b] which is the Greek word here uſed in this text for the Comforter, made Arabic. They alſo ſay, that the very name of Mahomet, both here and in other places of the goſpel, was expreſsly mentioned, but that the Chriſtians out of malice have blotted it out, and corrupted thoſe holy writings; and that at Paris there is a [c] copy of theſe goſpels without theſe corruptions, in which the coming of Mahomet is foretold in ſeveral places, with his name expreſsly mentioned in them. And ſome ſuch thing they had need to ſay, to juſtify the impudent lie of this Impoſtor, who in the ſixty-firſt chapter of his Alcoran, entitled, *The Chapter of Battle*, hath theſe words, 'remember that Jeſus the ſon of Mary ſaid to 'the children of Iſrael, I am the meſſenger of God, he hath 'ſent me to confirm the Old Teſtament, and to declare unto 'you, that there ſhall come a prophet after me, whoſe name 'ſhall be Mahomet.'

There needs no anſwer to confute theſe gloſſes. The abſurdity of them is ſufficiently expoſed, by barely relating them. And ſince they could find nothing elſe in all the books of the Old and New Teſtament to wreſt to their purpoſe, but theſe texts above mentioned, which are to every man's apprehending ſo exceedingly wide of it; theſe ſhew at how vaſt a diſtance the true word of God is from this impious impoſture, and how much it is in all its parts contrary thereto.

And thus far I have laid together as exactly and particularly as I could, out of the beſt authors that treat of this Impoſtor, all that is credibly related of him, and thoſe methods which

[b] Al Jannabi, Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 185.
[c] Pocockii Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 186.

he took for the framing and propagating that impious forgery, which he hath impoſed upon ſo large a part of mankind as have been deluded thereinto. And what is my deſign in the preſent publiſhing hereof, is ſhewn in the enſuing treatiſe.

A

DISCOURSE

FOR

THE VINDICATING OF

CHRISTIANITY

FROM THE

CHARGE OF IMPOSTURE.

OFFERED,

BY WAY OF LETTER,

TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE DEISTS OF THE PRESENT AGE.

A

LETTER

TO THE

DEISTS, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

IF I am not miſtaken, the reaſon you give for your renouncing that religion ye were baptized into, and is the religion of the country in which ye were born, is, 'that the Goſpel of 'Jeſus Chriſt is an impoſture:' an aſſertion that I tremble to repeat. But whether that Goſpel be right, or ye are in the right that deny it, will appear from the conſideration of the nature of an impoſture, and from the life of that moſt infamous Impoſtor (whom we, as well as you, acknowledge to be ſuch) which I have before given you the exact picture of. And if you can find any one lineament of it, any one line of all its filthy features in the whole goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, I durſt ſay, (ſo ſure I am of the contrary) that for the ſake hereof I will give you all you contend for, and yield you up the whole cauſe. And therefore that we may thoroughly examine the matter, I will lay down, in the firſt place, What an impoſture is; *2dly*, What are inſeparable marks and characters of it; and *3dly*, That none of theſe marks can belong to the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. And when I have done this, I hope I ſhall convince all ſuch of you, who have not totally abandoned yourſelves to

your infidelity, that the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt is that ſacred truth of God, which you are all bound to believe.

An impoſture, taking the word in the full latitude of its ſignification, may denote any lie or cheat, whereby one man impoſeth upon another. But it is moſt frequently uſed to expreſs ſuch cheats as are impoſed on us by thoſe who come with falſe characters of themſelves, pretending to be what they are not, in order to delude and deceive. And when this character, which is thus falſely aſſumed, is no leſs than a pretended embaſſy from heaven, and under the credit of it a new religion is delivered to the world as coming from God, which is nothing elſe but a forgery, invented by the firſt propagators of it, to impoſe a cheat upon mankind, it amounts to be an impoſture in that ſenſe, in which you would have the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt to be ſuch. And in this ſenſe it is to be underſtood in the controverſy between us; ſo that the whole queſtion which we are to examine into is, whether the Chriſtian Religion be a truth really given unto us by divine revelation from God our Creator, or elſe a mere human invention, contrived by the firſt propagators of it, to impoſe a cheat upon mankind. And when I have fully diſproved the latter part of this queſtion, that the Chriſtian Religion cannot be ſuch an invention contrived to cheat and impoſe upon us, that will ſufficiently prove the former, that it muſt be that divine truth, which all we that are Chriſtians firmly believe it to be.

That it is poſſible ſuch a cheat may be impoſed upon men, cannot be denied. It is ſufficiently proved in the foregoing hiſtory, which is a very full inſtance of it; and I have laid it before you for this very purpoſe, that you may therein ſee clearly delineated and diſplayed in all its proper colours, the whole nature of the thing, which you charge our holy religion with. All that I contend for, is, that if Chriſtianity be ſuch an impoſture as we all acknowledge the religion of Mahomet

to be, it muſt be juſt ſuch another thing as that is, with all the ſame marks, characters and properties of an impoſture belonging thereto; and that if none of thoſe marks, characters, or properties can be diſcovered in it, it muſt be a clear eviction of the whole charge, and manifeſtly prove, that our holy religion cannot be that thing which you would have it be. For our only way of knowing things, is by their marks and properties; and it is by them only that we can diſcover what the nature of them is. It is only by the marks and properties of a man, that we know a man from another living creature, for we cannot ſee the eſſences of things. And ſo it muſt be only by the marks and properties of an impoſture, that we can know an impoſture from that which is a real truth, when atteſted unto us. And as where we find none of the marks and properties of a man, we aſſuredly know that cannot be a man, how much ſoever any one may tell us that it is: ſo where we find none of the marks and properties of an impoſture, we may aſſuredly know that cannot be an impoſture, how much ſoever you, or any other like you, may aſſert it ſo to be.

Now the marks and characters which I look on to be inſeparable from every ſuch impoſture, are theſe following: 1. That it muſt always have for its end ſome carnal intereſt. 2. That it can have none but wicked men for the authors of it. 3. That both theſe muſt neceſſarily appear in the very contexture of the impoſture itſelf. 4. That it can never be ſo framed, but that it muſt contain ſome palpable falſities, which will diſcover the falſity of all the reſt. 5. That wherever it is firſt propagated, it muſt be done by craft and fraud. 6. That when entruſted with many conſpirators, it can never be long concealed. And, 7. That it can never be eſtabliſhed, unleſs backed with force and violence. That all theſe muſt belong to every impoſture, and all particularly did ſo to Mahometiſm; and that none of them can be charged upon Chriſtianity, is

what I ſhall now proceed to ſhew you: Of each of them in their order.

SECT. I.

I. That every impoſture muſt have for its end ſome carnal intereſt, is a thing ſo plain and evident, that I ſuppoſe it will not need much proof. For to impoſe a cheat upon mankind, and in a matter of that great importance, as all that have any religion, hold that to be, is a thing of that difficulty to compaſs, and of that danger to attempt, that it cannot be conceived, why any one ſhould put himſelf upon ſuch a deſign, that doth not propoſe ſome very valuable advantage to himſelf in the ſucceſs. To cheat one man is not always ſo eaſy a matter, nor is it without its miſchiefs and inconveniencies in the diſcovery. But to enterpriſe a cheat upon all mankind, and in a thing of that importance, as the introducing of a new religion, and the aboliſhing of the old one, (to which ſo many both by cuſtom and education will be always zealouſly affected, be it what it will) muſt be an undertaking of the greateſt difficulty and hazard imaginable. For whoever engageth himſelf in ſuch a plot of impoſture, muſt unavoidably meet with many ſtrong oppoſitions to ſtruggle with in the management of it, which will continually put his thoughts upon the rack, to find out devices to ſurmount them, and his body to inceſſant pains and labour to bring them into execution; and for the effecting hereof, he muſt have ſome confidants to aſſiſt him, ſome to help forward the deſign, whom he muſt truſt with the ſecret of it, and the more he hath of ſuch, the more he hazards all to a diſcovery. And all this while his mind will be filled with anxious cares, and his thoughts diſtracted with many uneaſy and affrighting apprehenſions (as is uſual with men on wicked deſigns) about the ſucceſs, and every failure will expoſe him to that terrible revenge from

thoſe he attempts to delude, as ſuch a villany, whenever detected, moſt juſtly deſerves. This was Mahomet's caſe all the while he was propagating his impoſture at Mecca, and ſo it muſt be of every other ſuch Impoſtor alſo. And when a man puts himſelf upon all this, the nature of the thing manifeſtly leads us to conclude, he muſt propoſe ſomething to himſelf hereby, which may make him amends for all in the reſult. For when ſo much is put to hazard, men do not uſe to do it for nothing. There muſt always be ſome great intereſt in the bottom of ſuch a deſign, ſomething that the undertaker values at a more than ordinary rate, to make him engage in ſo exceeding difficult and dangerous an enterpriſe. For wherever the venture is great, it muſt be taken for granted there is an end propoſed, which in the eſtimation of the venturer, is equivalent thereto. What it was that put Mahomet on his impoſture, the foregoing hiſtory of his life ſufficiently ſhews; it was his ambition and his luſt. To have the ſovereignty over his country, to gratify his ambition; and as many women as he pleaſed to ſatiate his luſt, was what he aimed at; and to gain himſelf a party for the compaſſing of this, was the grand deſign of that new religion which he invented, and the whole end and reaſon of his impoſing it on thoſe he deluded thereinto. And whoever purſues the like method, muſt certainly have ſome ſuch end in it; it being totally incredible that any one ſhould take upon him the trouble, fatigue, and danger of carrying on ſuch a cheat only for cheating ſake. But here we challenge all the enemies of that holy religion which we profeſs, to find out any thing like this in the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, any thing that ſavours of worldly intereſt, either in him the firſt founder of our Faith, or in any of his holy apoſtles, who were the firſt propagators of it. Vaninus, one of the moſt zealous champions of impiety that ever appeared againſt the Chriſtian cauſe (for he died a martyr for

it) hath attempted this: but after the moſt accurate and diligent ſearch which ſo keen an adverſary could make, he was forced to give up the point; and plainly acknowledge, that in the whole ſeries of the hiſtory and actions of our Saviour, he could not find any thing that he could charge with ſecular intereſt or deſign to blaſt him or his religion with. And if you will renew the ſame attempt, though you extend the inquiry much farther, even to his apoſtles, and all the reſt of his diſciples, who firſt preached this holy religion to the world, and take in to your aſſiſtance all the enemies of it; after the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny that you can make, you will never have any better ſucceſs herein.

For had our Saviour's deſign been to ſeduce the people for his own intereſt, he muſt have taken the ſame courſe that other ſeducers do. He muſt have flattered them in their humours, and formed his doctrines to their fancies; courted thoſe that were in greateſt authority and eſteem with them, and made it his buſineſs moſtly to preach againſt and decry thoſe who were leaſt in their favour, and ſtudied and practiſed all other ſuch arts of popularity, whereby he might beſt inſinuate into their good liking, and gain that intereſt with them, as might be ſufficient to ſerve his purpoſe, and obtain the end propoſed. Theſe were the methods whereby Mahomet firſt propagated his impoſture, and theſe are they which all others muſt take, whoſe purpoſe it is to deceive the people. But our Saviour in every particular acted contrary hereto; which ſufficiently proves that he had no ſuch deſign to compaſs. For he freely preached againſt whatever he found blameable in the people, ſpared not their beloved errors, or framed his doctrines to indulge them in any one evil practice, how predominant ſoever amongſt them, and was ſo far from courting thoſe in the greateſt authority and eſteem with them, that he was moſt ſharp and bitter againſt them above all others, whom they moſt

idolized, I mean the Scribes and Pharisees: For he, on all occasions, detected their hypocrisies, and laid open their evil practices, and in the severest manner rebuked and condemned them for their iniquity therein, even to the preferring and justifying before them the wicked Publicans, who for their exactions and oppressions upon the people in their gathering the public taxes, were held among them the most hated of men, and the worst of sinners. And therefore, though his miracles often drew their admiration and their applause on the one hand, his doctrines and his preachings as fast alienated them from him on the other; so that those very same men, who, for the sake of the former, followed him often in multitudes, and were ready to acknowledge him to be the Messias, were as violently set against him at other times, for the sake of the latter, and at last crucified him on the account thereof. And is it possible to conceive that he who took all those courses so contrary to the humour of the people, without regarding how much they tended to exasperate them against him, should have any interest or design of his own to serve himself of them?

When our Saviour took upon him to be the Messias that was promised, had he done it only as an Impostor, to promote a secular interest and design of his own, he would certainly have assumed that character according to those notions in which the Jews expected him. For in this case the expectation of the people must have been the grand motive to the imposture, and their looking for such a Messias to come, the main inducing reason of his putting himself thereon; and therefore to be sure, had he been an Impostor, he would have offered himself to them no otherwise than just such a Messias as their notions of him would have him to be; and there are two special reasons which in this case would have determined him hereto. 1. Because those notions offered to him the

higheſt ſecular intereſt that could be attained unto: and, 2. Becauſe the ſuiting of his pretenſions exactly according to them, would have been the readieſt and moſt likely way for him to carry the intereſt, whatever it was, which you may ſuppoſe him to have aimed at.

And, firſt, the notions which the Jews had of the Meſſias, offered him the higheſt ſecular intereſt that could be attained unto; and therefore to be ſure, when he took upon him to be that Meſſias, had he done it only as an Impoſtor, for a ſecular intereſt, he would have laid hold of that intereſt offered, and under the character which he aſſumed, moſt certainly have claimed all that which according to thoſe notions the Meſſias was to have. For this was nothing leſs than a moſt glorious ſecular kingdom; the expectations of the Jews being then concerning this matter the ſame, as they have ever ſince continued amongſt them; that the Meſſias [a] was to be a ſecular prince, who was to deliver them from their enemies, and reſtore the kingdom of David at Jeruſalem, and there reign in great glory and ſplendor over the whole houſe of Iſrael. And what greater or more deſirable intereſt can this world afford, than ſuch a ſtate of advancement? And what is there that is more valued and eſteemed in the opinion of all mankind, than the attainment thereof? And at that time when our Saviour firſt appeared on his miſſion, there was the moſt favourable juncture that could offer itſelf, for his ſetting up for all this: for then the people of the Jews being fallen under the yoke of the Ro-

[a] 'The Meſſias ſhall come and reſtore the kingdom of the houſe 'of David to the ancient ſtate of its former dominion, and ſhall 'rebuild the temple, and gather together the diſperſed of Iſrael; 'and then ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed the legal rites and conſtitutions, 'as in former times; and ſacrifices ſhall be offered, and the Sabba-'tical years and Jubilees obſerved, according to every precept de-'livered in the law.' Maimonides in Yad Hachazekah in Tract. de Regibus & Bellis eorum, c. II. § 1.

man government, and alſo grown very impatient under it, entertained a general expectation of the ſpeedy coming of the Meſſias, under that character of a temporal prince, which they had conceited of him, to deliver them from this bondage, and by conquering thoſe who ſubjected them thereto, again reſtore the kingdom of Iſrael. And theſe hopes had then taken poſſeſſion of their minds, and they were all ſo full of them, that every one ſtood in a manner ready and prepared to join with him, whoſoever ſhould take upon him to be the perſon, as ſufficiently appeareth not only from [b] the Scriptures, but alſo from the hiſtory which [c] Joſephus wrote of thoſe times. And

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[b] Mark 15. v. 43. Luke 2. v. 38, &c. 24. v. 31. Acts 1. v. 6. From all which places compared together, it appears that there was among the Jews, in the time of our Saviour, a general expectation of the ſpeedy coming of the Meſſias, and that their notion was of a temporal deliverance and a temporal reſtoration of the kingdom of Iſrael to be effected by him. And this expectation was it which made the multitude ſo ready to join themſelves to Theudas, and after to Judas of Galilee, of whom mention is made Acts 5. v. 36, 37. and after that to an Egyptian Jew, Acts 21. v. 38. on their pretending to be the perſons from whom this deliverance was expected.

[c] Joſephus not only makes mention of Theudas, and Judas of Galilee, and the Egyptian, of whom we have an account in Scripſure, Antiq. lib. 20. c. 2, & 6. but alſo of ſeveral others, who on the ſame pretences found the multitude ready to join themſelves unto them, Antiq. lib. 20. c. 6, & 7. & de Bello Judaico, l. 7. c. 31. As did alſo Barcboſbas in the reign of Adrian the Roman emperor. And what Maimonides delivers of the doctrine of the Jews concerning this matter, might give any man an handle to offer at it. For, ſaith he, the Meſſias is not to be known by ſigns or wonders (for he is to work none) but only by conqueſt. And therefore his words are; 'If there ariſeth a king of the houſe of 'David who is ſtudious of the law, and diligent in obſerving the 'precepts of it, as was David his father; that is, not only of the 'law, which is written, but of the oral alſo, and inclineth all Iſrael 'to walk therein, and repairs the breaches, and fights the battles 'of the Lord, this perſon may be preſumed to be the Meſſias. 'But if he proſpers in what he undertakes, and ſubdues all the 'neighbouring nations round about him, and rebuilds the ſanc-

therefore had our Saviour, by taking upon him to be the Meſſias, aimed only, as an Impoſtor, at a ſecular intereſt, what reaſon can be given, why he ſhould not with the name of the Meſſias, have alſo claimed this grand intereſt of a kingdom, which, according to the opinion of all thoſe who expected a Meſſias, belonged thereto? Or why he ſhould not in ſo favourable a juncture, as was then offered for it, have poſſeſſed himſelf thereof? But he was ſo far from doing either of theſe, that he waved both, and not only omitted this opportunity of poſſeſſing himſelf of this kingdom, but alſo renounced and diſclaimed the whole thereof. For inſtead of laying any pretence to it, he ſet himſelf to confute thoſe very notions which gave it unto him, and to convince the people that they were miſtaken in them, and thereby overthrew all that which offered unto him the higheſt ſecular intereſt which the men of this world uſe to aim at. And not only ſo, but advanced in the ſtead of thoſe errors, ſuch doctrines concerning the Meſſias as were not only without all manner of worldly intereſt in them, but all levelled directly oppoſite thereto. For he taught them, that the kingdom of the Meſſias was not a temporal, but a ſpiritual kingdom; that he was not to be a judge and a ruler over them in the ſecular affairs of this world, and the pomp and glory thereof, but to govern and direct their hearts within by the power of his holy ſpirit, in order to conform them to that law of righteouſneſs, which might fit them to reign with him in the kingdom of everlaſting glory hereafter. And therefore when the Jews, being convinced by his wonderful works that he was the Meſſias, would have taken him by force and made him their king, he withdrew from among them to

'tuary in its former place, and gathers together the diſperſed of 'Iſrael, then he is for certain the Meſſias.' Maimonides in Yad Hachazekah Tract. de Regibus & Bellis eorum, c. 11. § 4.

diſappoint the deſign. And when interrogated by Pilate, he told him his kingdom was not of this world. And had he aimed at any ſuch thing, he would never have taught ſuch doctrines of himſelf, which ſo directly overthrew all that which gave him the moſt favourable advantage of attaining thereto. Had he offered at more of this world's intereſt, than the notions of the Jews inveſted him with (if it were poſſible more could be had than thoſe gave their Meſſias) or if he had joined thereto the enjoyment of carnal pleaſure, as Mahomet did, there might then have been ſome ground of charging him of differing from thoſe notions for the ſerving of his own intereſt; but when the change was on the quite contrary hand, and inſtead of being that reigning and glorious Meſſias, amidſt the higheſt pomp and ſplendor of this world, as the Jews would have had him to be, he declared himſelf only for ſuch a kingdom as had nothing of this world in it, and whoſe greateſt perfection lay in its greateſt oppoſition thereto; he that will ſay that there was any thing of this world in his thus ſtripping himſelf of all the pomp and glory of it, or that there could be any deſign of intereſt for himſelf, where all manner of ſelf-intereſt is thus renounced, muſt reconcile contradictions, and make the nature of one extreme to conſiſt in the other, which is moſt directly oppoſite thereto. Had he, when he took upon him to be the Meſſias, done it only for a worldly intereſt, this great intereſt of reigning ſo obviouſly offered itſelf unto him under that character, that it cannot be conceived how he ſhould ever have avoided it. The power, and glory, and riches of a kingdom, are too great baits of allurement to the worldly-minded man, ever to be refuſed by ſuch a one, after he had aſſumed that character, which, in the generally received notion of it, inveſted him with them. Or can it be imagined, ſince theſe are the only things which could make that character at all deſirable to an Impoſtor, why any man ſhould run the great

hazard and trouble of being ſuch in the aſſuming of it, but for the ſake of them? All thoſe falſe Chriſts, who have been real Impoſtors, and have in ſeveral ages ſtarted up to delude the world with this pretence, have ever with the name of the Meſſias, claimed alſo this kingdom, which the Jews aſcribed thereto, and that, in every ſuch ſcene of deceit which hath opened in the world, hath always appeared to have been the bait, which allured thoſe wretches to act that part therein. And had our Saviour been ſuch a one as they, he muſt certainly have taken the ſame courſe. For to do otherwiſe, would have been to do the wickedneſs without the temptation, and to run the hazard without that which was to reward the ſucceſs. But he having been ſo far herefrom, that he did not only renounce this kingdom, but all manner of other worldly intereſt whatever; this plainly ſhews he could have no deſign upon this world by that miſſion which he undertook, or had any other reaſon for his entering on it as the Meſſias, but that he was really that perſon, whom God, by his holy prophets, had ſo often promiſed, and at length, in the fulneſs of time, accordingly ſent to bring life and ſalvation unto us.

2. Had our Saviour, when he took upon him to be the Meſſias, done it only as an Impoſtor, for a ſecular intereſt, he would have aſſumed that character according to thoſe notions in which the Jews expected him, becauſe this would have been the readieſt and moſt likely way for him to carry that intereſt, whatever you may ſuppoſe it to be. For the eager expectations of that people being then for ſuch a reigning Meſſias, as they had drawn a picture of in their own fancies, his only way to have gotten them to own and receive him for the Meſſias, was for him exactly to have humoured them herein, and propoſed himſelf to them juſt ſuch a one as they would have had him to be. And had his intent been only to ſeduce them under that character, in order to ſerve himſelf of them

for a ſecular intereſt, this method is that which is ſo obviouſly neceſſary in ſuch a caſe, that it could not have been avoided. For to do otherwiſe would evidently have been to put the matter in a moſt certain method totally to miſcarry, and make the whole deſign impracticable. To come to them as their Meſſias, under a character totally differing from that in which they expected him, would be ſufficient to make them, for that very reaſon, never to receive him. Although humility, and the debaſing of a man's ſelf, may, in other caſes, be a means to court popularity, and procure the favour of the people, it could never have ſerved in this; nor would our Saviour's taking upon him the character of the Meſſias, ſo vaſtly lower as to this world, than the general opinion then gave it unto him, have been of any ſtead to him in order thereto; but quite the contrary. For the Jews had then framed their notions of the Meſſias they expected, for their own ſakes rather than his; ſuitable to thoſe worldly intereſts they were moſt in love with, and thoſe notions went current through the whole nation, as the true and exact deſcription of him, by which he was to be known at his coming. And therefore for any one to propoſe himſelf to them, as the Meſſias, under a character totally diſagreeing herefrom, would have been the readieſt way for him to be told, that he was not therefore the man; and this, inſtead of being a means to ſeduce them to him, become ſuch a reaſon for their rejecting him, as no art of impoſture would ever have been able to maſter. And this, indeed, proved the main cauſe, that, notwithſtanding our Saviour's miracles, the Jews, who daily ſaw them, were ſtill hardened in their averſion againſt him; and it continues with them to this day the grand ſtumbling-block of infidelity, which they cannot get over. For they look for a Meſſias, that was to ſubdue their enemies, and deliver them from the ſlavery of the Romans, and by the eſtabliſhment of a temporal kingdom over them, advance the

ſtate of their nation to the higheſt proſperity, and their law to the higheſt perfection of obſervance, which both were capable of. But he propoſed himſelf unto them as a Meſſias, who had nothing to do with this world, or any of the intereſts of it; and inſtead of the temporal kingdom they expected, claimed only a ſpiritual; and inſtead of the outward rites and ceremonies of the Moſaical law, which were all fulfilled and done away in him, taught them only to worſhip God in ſpirit and in truth. And what could more diſpleaſe and alienate from him, men ſo eager upon this world, and the glory and riches of it, than thus, inſtead of conqueſt over enemies, extent of power, and a moſt flouriſhing ſtate of proſperity, which they dreamed of, to preach to them of mortification, repentance, ſelf-denial, and thoſe other Chriſtian virtues, in the increaſe of which the true proſperity of Chriſt's kingdom only conſiſts; and inſtead of their temple, and the outward pomp and ſplendor of the worſhip there performed, which they ſo much valued themſelves upon, and ſo zealouſly affected, thus to propoſe to them the worſhipping of God without all this, only in that ſpiritual manner, which, under the numerous rites of the Moſaical law, they had not been accuſtomed to have any great regard unto? For this was to baulk them of the hopes they moſt delighted in, and put a baffle upon them in thoſe eager expectations and moſt earneſt deſires, which their hearts had long dwelt upon. And how ill they were able to brook this, will appear by this inſtance in the Goſpel, [d] that thoſe very ſame men, who, on the ſeeing of his miracles, were ſo firmly convinced of his being the Meſſias, that they would forthwith have taken him by force, and declared him their king; the next day after, on his preaching to them of ſpiritual things, and offering thereby to withdraw their minds from the periſh-

[d] John 6.

able things of this world, to fix them on thoſe which endure to everlaſting life, murmured againſt him, and would no more endure him. For their hearts were after a Meſſias that ſhould found them a temporal kingdom, and make them great and glorious, and powerful therein; and to ſet up a ſpiritual kingdom inſtead hereof, was not only to deprive himſelf of the grandeur of the other, but them alſo of the portion which they expected therein. And no one certainly that intended a worldly intereſt by ſuch an undertaking, would ever have projected it in ſuch a method as this, which was ſo totally inconſiſtent with it. For this would be to renounce in the very act the end which he propoſed, and make the attainment of it impracticable by the very means whereby he purſued it; it would be to wave the higheſt in this world, to purſue after another, which no one can imagine what, and thereby totally alienate thoſe from him, by whom alone he could hope in ſuch a deſign as this to attain any at all. And therefore had a worldly end and a worldly intereſt been all that our Saviour aimed at, in his taking upon him to be the Meſſias, whom the Jews expected, he would never ſo much contrary to that intereſt, and ſo much contrary to that moſt obvious means of carrying on ſuch a deſign, have aſſumed that character in a manner ſo much differing from that under which they expected him: or could he by ſuch a method of procedure ever have made any thing of the attempt among them, had he not on his ſide the power of God, as well as his miſſion, to make him ſucceſsful therein?

Had his buſineſs only been to deceive the people for the advancing of ſome ſecular intereſt of his own, he would never have attempted it in ſo unlikely a way of ſucceeding, as that of aboliſhing the Moſaical law, to which the whole nation of the Jews were then ſo zealouſly addicted, that they could not bear the leaſt word which might ſeem to derogate either from

the excellency which they conceived of it, or that opinion which they then had, and ſtill retain, that it was to be immutably obſerved by them to the end of the world. The caſe of Mahomet with his men of Mecca was quite otherwiſe, he found no ſuch zeal in them for their old religion to ſtruggle with; they themſelves were then grown ſo weary of it, that the generality of them had in a manner totally exchanged it for no religion at all, at the time that Mahomet firſt began to propagate his impoſture among them; they having then for the moſt part given themſelves up to the opinions of the Zendikees, who in the ſame manner as the Epicureans among the Greeks, and too many now a-days among us, acknowledged the being of a God, but denying his providence, the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate, did at the ſame time deny all manner of neceſſity of paying any worſhip unto him. And no wonder then, if ſuch men, who placed their all in this world, were eaſily brought over to a ſect, whoſe chief aim was at worldly proſperity and worldly pleaſure in the religion which they profeſſed. This Mahomet was well enough aware of, before he ſtarted his new religion among them; and it ſeems to have been the greateſt encouragement which emboldened him to venture on that attempt. However, ſince they ſtill retained the outward form of their religion after they had deſerted the ſubſtance of it, he found even from hence that oppoſition to his deſign, that to make it go down, he was forced to retain all thoſe rites and ceremonies in his new religion, which they had been afore uſed to in their old; and in order hereto, he choſe to make ſome dangerous alterations in his firſt eſtabliſhments, as particularly in that of the Kebla, rather than ruffle his Arabians by aboliſhing what he found them through long uſage and cuſtom any way addicted to. For his buſineſs being to deceive the people, his care was to offer at nothing which might be difficult to go down with

them; and ſo muſt it be of every other deceiver who takes upon him to act the like part. But in every particular it was quite otherwiſe with our Saviour, and thoſe whom he firſt preached his Goſpel unto. For the Jews having undergone ſeveral terrible ſcourges from the hand of God for the neglect of that law which he had given them, were from their former too much diſregard of it, then grown into the contrary extreme of being with exceeding ſuperſtition and bigotry too much devoted to it. They then looked on it with the ſame veneration as they ſtill do, to be an immutable law never to be altered, that the Meſſias himſelf at his coming ſhould not make the leaſt change therein, but that the glory of his kingdom ſhould chiefly conſiſt in the perfection of its obſervance, and the exact performance of the worſhip it preſcribed; and for any one to advance any doctrine contrary hereto, was reckoned no leſs than [e] blaſphemy among them. And therefore had our Saviour only conſulted fleſh and blood in the miſſion which he undertook, had he had no other deſign therein than a ſecular intereſt and a worldly end, he would never have oppoſed himſelf againſt the violent current of ſuch predominant opinions, as he found then reigning among them whom he firſt preached his goſpel unto, or ever durſt have offered at the abolition of that law which they were ſo violently bigotted unto. Had he come to deceive them as a Seducer, the very nature of the thing muſt neceſſarily have directed him to a quite contrary method, that is, to ſooth and collogue with them whom he came to impoſe upon; to have contradicted no opinion they were violent for, nor oppoſed any doctrine which they were zealouſly affected to, but to have ſtudied their humours and learned their notions, and ſo framed and ſuited all his doctrines according thereto, as might beſt take

[e] Acts 6. v. 13.

to draw them over to the end deſigned. To have done otherwiſe would have been to ſet prieſt and people againſt him, as an enemy to their religion, and a blaſphemer of their law. And as our Saviour found it ſo in the reſult, ſo it muſt have been obvious to any one in his caſe to have foreſeen it from the beginning. And therefore ſince notwithſtanding this, he took this method, ſo contrary to the whole end and deſign of one that intends a cheat upon the people; and without having any regard to that zeal with which the Jews were then ſo violently bigotted to their law, or that rage of reſentment which they were ready to expreſs againſt whatſoever in the leaſt ſhould derogate from it, did boldly preach unto them ſuch doctrines as totally diſannulled it; this manifeſtly proves he could have no intereſt of his own to ſerve upon them in this undertaking, nor that he had any other reaſon for his entering on it, but that he was ſent of God ſo to do.

The grand and fundamental doctrine of the religion which Jeſus Chriſt left his church, was that of his death and paſſion, whereby he made atonement for our ſins, and delivered us from the puniſhment which was due unto us for them. By this means only he propoſed to ſave us, that is, from ſin, the devil, and eternal death; and by this conflict only did he undertake to ſubdue theſe our enemies for us, and on that conqueſt to found us a kingdom, which ſhould make us holy and righteous here, and for ever bleſſed with him in glory hereafter. This was the whole end and purpoſe of our Saviour's miſſion; this he frequently foretold to his diſciples, and on this was founded the whole religion which he taught them. And can any one ſay he could have a deſign of ſecular intereſt for himſelf in ſuch a religion as this, which could have no being but by his dying for it, or any reaſon for its eſtabliſhment among men, till he had laid down his life for the compleating of it? To ſay there was any thing of worldly intereſt

in this, would be to charge it on his croſs, and place it in that bitter and ignominious death which he underwent thereon. Men ſometimes put their lives to great hazard for the intereſts of this world, but for a man purpoſely to deſign death for ſuch an end, and part with this world in ſuch a manner as Chriſt did, for the ſake of any thing that this world hath, is a thing which was never yet heard of, and is in itſelf ſo contrary to the moſt obvious dictates both of reaſon and nature, that no one can be ſo abſurd as to imagine it poſſible for any man ſo to do.

But that which I know you will ſay in this caſe, is, that it was not Chriſt himſelf, but his diſciples after his death that made this a part of his religion; that he intended no ſuch thing in the undertaking he entered on, that it ſhould end in his death, and be completed by his crucifixion; but that this happening unto him, thoſe who kept up his party, and propagated his religion after him, foiſted this thereinto, to ſalve the ignominy of his death, and ſerve themſelves of it, for the better carrying on of their deſigns thereby. And if ſo, then the impoſture muſt be ſhifted from him to his diſciples. And in this caſe the ſame enquiry muſt ſtill be made, what advantage could they propoſe to themſelves herefrom? For if Chriſt's having no ſelf-deſign or worldly intereſt in the religion which he taught, be of any force to acquit him of being guilty of impoſture therein (as it muſt with every man of unprejudiced reaſon) it muſt alſo be of force to acquit them of the ſame charge who propagated it after him. And what worldly intereſt is it which they could poſſibly have in this matter? If you ſay empire, how improbable is it, that a few poor fiſhermen, without any manner of foundation either of power, riches, or intereſt with others, for the carrying on of ſuch a deſign, ſhould ever frame in their thoughts the leaſt imagination tending thereto, eſpecially at that time when the Roman

empire, being in its utmoſt heighth and vigour, had the major part of the then known world united under its command, to cruſh the greateſt attempts of this nature, which might be made againſt it? If riches and honour be alleged as their end, I muſt deſire you to tell me how this could be a means to gain them? or whether any one of them ever attained to either thereby? If we examine into the accounts which we have of their lives and actions, we ſhall find them journeying about the world from place to place in great poverty, and under all the difficulties and preſſures of it, to diſcharge that apoſtleſhip which was committed unto them, and in every place where they came, to be loaded with contempt, oppreſſion, and perſecution for the ſake of that religion which they taught. Had riches and honour been the end propoſed for all this, certainly after having experienced, by the ill ſucceſs, how improper means they had taken in order thereto, ſome of them would have deſiſted from the enterpriſe, and no longer have purſued a deſign which could not anſwer its end. But you cannot bring us an inſtance of any one of them that did this. No, they ſtill went on in the work which they had undertaken, and without being wearied by the poverty they laboured under, or in the leaſt diſcouraged by that contempt, ſcorn, and perſecution which they every where met with, all conſtantly perſevered to preach that Goſpel which they had received, even to their lives end; and not only ſo, but moſt of them laid down their lives for the ſake thereof; which they would never have done, if they had not for their miniſtry a much higher reaſon than all the honour and riches of this world could ever amount unto. All that can be ſaid of any worldly intereſt for them in their preaching up that religion which they propagated, is, that they were thereby made heads of the party which they drew over thereto. But alas, what advantage could this be unto them to be thus made heads of a contemned, oppreſſed,

and perſecuted party of men, who were every where ſought out for bonds, impriſonments and death? To head ſuch a party, what is it but to expoſe a man's ſelf to the greater danger, and ſet himſelf up to receive the firſt ſtrokes of every perſecution which was levelled againſt it? For in this caſe, thoſe who head the party are moſt ſought after, and the ring-leaders of it are ever made the firſt and the moſt ſignal examples of every ſeverity which is deſigned for its oppreſſion. And this was all that the apoſtles got by heading that party which they converted to the Chriſtian Religion; and what of worldly intereſt could be found therein? If the heading of a party be of any advantage to a man, it muſt be then only when it brings him honour, or power, or riches, or ſome other worldly enjoyment. But to head ſuch a party as the firſt Chriſtians were, could bring none of theſe therewith; but, on the contrary, poverty, contempt, oppreſſions, and perſecutions, were all the fruits, as to this world, which the apoſtles of our Saviour reaped thereby. And certainly on theſe terms to head a party, could never have been the reaſon to make them enter on that undertaking; or if it had, they could never under ſuch diſcouragements have long continued therein.

SECT. II.

II. And thus far having examined the firſt mark of impoſture, and, I hope, ſufficiently ſhown it cannot belong to that holy religion which we profeſs: I ſhall now proceed to the ſecond; that is, that it muſt always have wicked men for the authors of it. For thus to impoſe upon mankind a falſe religion, is the worſt of cheats, and the higheſt injuſtice which can be done either to God or man; to God, becauſe it robs him of the worſhip of his creatures, either by diverting it to a falſe object, or by directing it to him in ſuch a falſe way, as cannot be accepted of before him. And to man, becauſe it

deprives him of his God, by putting him upon ſuch a falſe religion as muſt neceſſarily alienate both his mercy and his favour from him. And to do this is ſuch a conſummate piece of iniquity, that it is impoſſible any one can arrive thereto, without having firſt corrupted himſelf to a great degree in all things elſe. For ſuch an one muſt have caſt off all fear of God, as well as all regard of man, before he could ever offer at ſo great a wickedneſs againſt both. And when a man is come to this, to be ſure he will ſtick at nothing whereby his luſts may be gratified, or any carnal intereſt ſerved, which he ſets his heart upon, but will make the corruptions of his mind appear in all the actions of his life, and be thoroughly wicked in every thing where his own intereſt, or his own deſigns, do not put a reſtraint upon him. And that Mahomet was ſuch a one, the hiſtory of his life, which I have laid before you, ſufficiently ſhews. But who ever yet charged [f] Jeſus Chriſt, or his holy apoſtles with any thing like this? Not Celſus, not Porphyry, nor Julian, or any other of the heathens, or the Jews, who were the bittereſt enemies of Chriſtianity, and the greateſt oppoſers of it. And to be ſure could they have found any ſuch accuſation againſt any of them, they would never have ſpared to have made the utmoſt uſe of it they could, for the blaſting of that religion which they taught. For it is a popular argument, which would have ſerved their purpoſe among the people more than any other they could have offered unto them. And we ſee with what ſucceſs the various ſects among us ſerve themſelves of it every day, no argument being more prevalent

[f] All that the bittereſt enemies of Chriſtianity have ever objected againſt our Saviour, ſave a fabulous ſtory of his birth, amounts to no more than this, that he was a magician, which was an invention framed only to ſalve his working of miracles, which they could not deny in ſuch a manner, as to make them give no reputation or authority to the doctrines which he taught.

amongſt the unthinking multitude, for the beating down the reputation of any profeſſion of religion, than the ripping up of the faults of thoſe that teach it. To examine into all the labyrinths and abſtruſe ſpeculations of reaſon and argument, which may be brought for or againſt any religion, is an opçroſe buſineſs, which all have not capacities for, and few care to attend to. But of good and evil every man is a judge; and where they find the teachers of any religion to be wicked and naught, it is an inference which they are all apt too precipitately to run into, that the religion muſt be naught alſo; and without any further examining into it, condemn it ſo to be. And I find there is nothing which you yourſelves are more greedy to lay hold of, for an argument againſt our holy Chriſtian religion, than the faults which you obſerve in ſome of our miniſters, whoſe buſineſs it is to promote it. And therefore if the faults of the preſent teachers of Chriſtianity be apt thus to afford ſo popular and prevalent an argument againſt it, how much more would the faults of the firſt founders and propagators of it have done ſo, had there been any ſuch to object againſt them? And had there been any ſuch, ſo keen and ſearching adverſaries would never have ſuffered the diſcovery to have eſcaped them, or ever failed to have objected it for the ſerving of their turn to the utmoſt they were able; and it can be owing to nothing but their moſt unblameable innocency, that they have been ſecured herefrom. To ſay that they could not have that knowledge of their lives and actions, as was ſufficient for them to diſcern their faults, and obſerve their miſcarriages, will not ſolve the matter. Though Mahomet acted his impoſture ſo many hundred miles within the remoter parts of Arabia, among a people who, by vaſt deſarts, were in a manner cut off from the converſe of the reſt of mankind, where very few or none of any other nation ever came to ſpy out his actions, or obſerve his doings, and

where he had none elſe to be witneſſes of them, but thoſe only who all embraced his forgery, and became zealouſly addicted to it; yet all this could not ſerve to conceal his faults, or hide his monſtrous wickedneſſes from being obſerved and recorded againſt him. The foregoing hiſtory gives you a large catalogue of them, and they are vouched by the authority of ſome of the moſt authentic writers of his own ſect. But Chriſtianity had not its birth in ſuch an obſcure hole, nor did the firſt Founder of it, or thoſe who propagated it after him, make their firſt appearance among ſuch rude and illiterate barbarians as that Impoſtor did, but on one of the openeſt ſtages in the world, at Jeruſalem, and in the land of Judæa; and not in an age when, as formerly, that nation ſeparated itſelf from all others, and had no converſe with any but themſelves, but when they had ſcattered themſelves abroad, and mingled with all other nations, and alſo were forced to admit all other nations to mingle with them, by being made a province of the Roman empire, which brought not only ſoldiers and merchants of other nations among them, but alſo opened the gate to all others, as they ſhould think fit to come and reſide among them. And the temple at Jeruſalem being that where all of the Jewiſh religion worſhipped; this conſtantly brought thither from all nations thoſe who profeſſed it, which made a very great reſort thither from all parts of the world, eſpecially at their great feſtivals. And therefore juſt after our Saviour's ſufferings at the time of Pentecoſt next following, we are told that there were then at Jeruſalem, [s] 'Parthians, Medes, and 'Elamites, and the dwellers of Meſopotamia, Cappadocia, 'Pontus, Aſia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, Libya, and Cy-'rene, with the ſtrangers of Rome, Cretes and Arabians.' So that to be ſure nothing could be hid or concealed, which

[s] Acts 2. v. 9, 10, 11.

was done on ſo open a ſtage of the world, and in the ſight of ſo many nations as were then preſent upon it; nor is it poſſible, if thoſe who then firſt delivered the Chriſtian religion to the world, had been ſuch wicked perſons as Mahomet was, and all other Impoſtors muſt be, it could ever have eſcaped their obſervation. And if it had at Jeruſalem, there were other occaſions enough given for a fuller diſcovery afterwards. For the holy apoſtles after our Saviour's death, did not confine themſelves to Jeruſalem, and the land of Judæa only, but diſperſed themſelves throughout the whole earth, and at Rome, at Athens, and in many other celebrated cities appeared openly, teaching the religion which they had received, and forming churches of thoſe whom they had converted thereto, and thereby expoſing their lives and actions publicly to the view of the whole world, made all mankind in a manner witneſs of what they did. And Chriſtianity was not ſuch an acceptable thing to the world, as to move the men of it to be ſo candid and good-natured to the firſt authors of it, as to conceal their faults, and hide their wickedneſſes, had there been any ſuch in them. No, it was that which was againſt the luſts and pleaſures, and the other evil courſes of this world, more than any other religion which was ever taught therein; and this put the world as much againſt it, and all that adhered thereto; and therefore we find them to be a party of men not only every where ſpoken againſt, but alſo every where hated, oppoſed, and perſecuted to the utmoſt. And when ſo general an odium was riſen againſt them, and both Jews and Gentiles conſpired together therein, to be ſure there were not wanting abundance that made it their buſineſs to pry into their actions, and examine their practices with all that ſpight, unfairneſs, and ill interpretation of things, as is uſual in ſuch caſes. And could they by all this ſearch, inquiry, and ſtricteſt obſervation, have found any thing to charge upon Chriſt or his

this caſe the new religion and the new law muſt be calculated for this end, and be all formed and contrived in order thereto, otherwiſe it can have no efficiency for the obtaining of it, nor at all anſwer the purpoſe of the inventor for the compaſſing of what he propoſed; and if it be thus calculated, ordered and contrived for ſuch an end, that end cannot but be ſeen and diſcovered in thoſe means. For the end and means prove each other; that is, as the nature of the end propoſed ſhows us what means muſt be made uſe for the obtaining of it; ſo doth the nature of the means which we uſe, diſcover what is the end which they drive at. And as far as the means have a tendency to the end, ſo much muſt they have of that end in them; and it is not poſſible for him that uſeth the one, long to conceal the other. And therefore nothing is more obvious and common among us, than by the courſes which a man takes, to diſcern the end which he would have. As Mahomet invented his new religion to promote his own ends; ſo the Alcoran, in which it is contained, ſufficiently proves it, there being ſcarce a leaf in that book which doth not lay down ſome particulars, which tend to the gratifying either of the ambition or the luſt of that monſter who contrived it. And had the firſt founder of our holy Chriſtian religion, or they who were the firſt propagators of it, any ſuch end therein, the books of the New Teſtament, in which it is written, would have as palpably ſhown it. But here we challenge all the enemies of our faith to uſe their utmoſt ſkill to make any ſuch diſcovery in them. They have already gone through the ſtrict ſcrutiny of many ages, as well as of all manner of adverſaries, and none have ever yet been able to tax them herewith. For inſtead of being calculated for the intereſt of this world, their whole deſign is to withdraw our hearts from it, and fix them upon the intereſt of that which is to come. And therefore the doctrines which they inculcate, are thoſe of mortification, repent-

ance, and ſelf-denial, which ſpeak not unto us of fighting, bloodſhed, and conqueſt, as the Alcoran doth, for the advancing of a temporal kingdom; but that renouncing all the pomps and vanities, and luſts of this preſent world, we live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in the preſence of him that made us; and inſtead of purſuing after the periſhable things of this life, we ſet our hearts only on thoſe heavenly riches, which will make us great and glorious and bleſſed for ever hereafter. For as the kingdom of Chriſt is not of this world, ſo neither do thoſe books, in which are written the laws of this kingdom, favour any thing thereof. The mammon of this world, and the righteouſneſs which they preſcribe us, are declared in them to be totally inconſiſtent. The Old Teſtament indeed, as being under the diſpenſation of carnal ordinances, which were the ſhadows only of thoſe things after to come under the Goſpel, treated with men ſuitably thereto. And therefore we find much of this world, both by way of promiſe as well as threat, to be propoſed therein. But it is quite otherwiſe with the New: for in that revelation, being given to the perfecting of righteouſneſs, all things were advanced thereby from earth to heaven, and from fleſh to ſpirit. And therefore as the whole end of it is to make men ſpiritual, ſo are we directed thereby to look only to ſpiritual and heavenly bleſſings for the reward hereof. Had our Saviour propoſed victory, or riches, or carnal pleaſures to his followers, as Mahomet did, then indeed his law would have ſufficiently favoured of this world, to make men ſuſpect that he aimed at nothing elſe thereby. But he was ſo far herefrom, that inſtead of this, the whole tenour of his doctrine runs the quite contrary way, we being told of nothing elſe through the whole New Teſtament, but of tribulations, afflictions, and perſecutions, which ſhall attend all ſuch, as to this world, who faithfully ſet their hearts to become his diſciples; and the experience of all ages ſince hath

ſufficiently verified the prediction. And indeed the very religion which he hath taught us, is of that holineſs, that according to the courſe of this wicked world it naturally leads us thereinto. And how then can it be ſaid, that any thing of worldly intereſt can be contained either in this religion, or thoſe holy books in which it is written?

I cannot deny, that there are ſome men ſo crafty and cunning in purſuing their intereſt, that it ſhall not eaſily be diſcerned in the means, what it is which they drive at for their end. But how great a compaſs ſoever ſuch may fetch about to the point which they aim at, or in what bye and ſecret paths ſoever they make towards it; yet if the means which they make uſe of, have any tendency thither, they can never be ſo totally blended, but there will always appear in them enough of the end to make the diſcovery to any accurate obſerver; and at length when the plot grows ripe for execution, and the deſigner begins to offer at the putting himſelf in poſſeſſion of what he propoſed (as all ſuch deſigns muſt at laſt) the whole ſcene muſt then be laid open, and every one will be able to ſee thereinto. And therefore if you will have it that the holy Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, who were the firſt penners of the New Teſtament, were ſuch cunning and crafty men, as to be able thus artfully to conceal their deſigns in thoſe books, which you ſuppoſe they wrote of purpoſe to promote them (which cannot reaſonably be imagined of men of their education and condition in the world, they being all, except St. Paul and St. Luke, of the meaneſt occupations among the people, and totally unlearned) yet if they contrived thoſe books with any tendency towards thoſe deſigns (and it cannot be conceived how otherwiſe they could help forward to the obtaining of them) it is impoſſible they could thus have paſſed thorough ſo many ages, and all the ſtrict examinations of Heathens, Jews, Atheiſts, and all other adverſaries, who have ſo ſtrenuouſly

endeavoured to overthrow their authority, and no diſcovery be made hereof. For ſuppoſing at firſt, under the maſk of renouncing the world, they might a while conceal their deſigns for the intereſt of it (which is the utmoſt you can ſay in this caſe) yet this could not laſt long: for if this were all they deſigned by teaching that holy religion, and writing thoſe books in which it is contained, ſome time or other they muſt have put thoſe deſigns in execution, otherwiſe they would have been in vain laid; ſometime or other they muſt have endeavoured by them to obtain what they aimed at, otherwiſe the whole projection of them would have been to no purpoſe; and if they ever did ſo (as to be ſure they would, had this been their end) then, as it happens in all other ſtratagems of the like nature, with how much artifice ſoever they might conceal what they intended in the contrivance, all at laſt muſt have come out in the execution; and when they began to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the end they aimed at, or at leaſt made any offer towards it, the whole cheat muſt then have been unmaſked, and every one would have been able to ſee into the depth thereof. But when did our Saviour, or any of his holy apoſtles, by virtue of any of thoſe doctrines delivered down unto us in the books of the New Teſtament, ever put themſelves in poſſeſſion of any ſuch worldly intereſt? Or when did they ever make the leaſt offer in order thereto? Have any of the ancient enemies of our holy religion (and it had bitter ones enough from the very beginning) ever recorded any ſuch againſt them? Or have any other ever ſince from any good authority, or any authority at all, ever been able to tax them herewith? Or is it poſſible their names could have remained untainted of this charge amidſt ſo many adverſaries, who have now for near ſeventeen hundred years ſtood up in every age to oppoſe that holy religion which they have delivered unto us, had they in the leaſt been guilty hereof? Nay, hath

it been ſo much as ever ſaid of them, that they practiſed as to this world, any otherwiſe than they taught, or ever dealt with the intereſts of it in any other manner, than totally to renounce them? Or had they at all any other portion in this life, than that of perſecution, affliction, and tribulation, as it is foretold in thoſe holy books that they ſhould? And what then can be a greater madneſs, than to ſuppoſe that men ſhould lay ſuch a deep deſign, as that of inventing a new religion, and undergo all that vaſt trouble and danger, which they did, to impoſe it on the world for the ſake of a worldly intereſt, and yet never put themſelves in poſſeſſion of that intereſt, or ever make the leaſt offer towards it?

If you ſay, that the whole end of the religion was only to gain the party, and that the ſteps to the intereſt were to be made afterwards; I ſtill go on to aſk, who can tell us, after the party was gained, of any ſuch ſteps that were ever made, or of any the leaſt offer tending thereto? Were not the firſt Chriſtians for many ages after the firſt founding of our faith, what they ought ſtill to be, men that uſed this world as if they uſed it not, who lived in it without being of it, and did truly what they vowed in their baptiſm, renounce all the pomps and vanities, and luſts thereof, faithfully to obſerve that holy law which they had received? And in this they perſevered ſo ſtedfaſtly, that even their very enemies admired the righteouſneſs of their lives, and [k] bore witneſs thereto, and the moſt cruel per-

[k] Plinii Epiſt. lib. 10. Ep. 97.——'Hanc fuiſſe ſummam vel 'culpæ ſuæ vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante lucem con- 'venire, Carmenque Chriſto quaſi Deo dicere ſecum invicem, ſeque 'ſacramento non in ſcelus aliquod obſtringere, ſed ne furta, ne la- 'trocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depoſi- 'tum appellati abnegarent.' In like manner they were alſo vindicated by Serenius Granianus, proconſul of Aſia, in his epiſtle to the emperor Adrian. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 4. c. 8, & 9.

ſecutors could never beat them therefrom, but they ſtill went on in the obſervance of their holy religion without having any other deſign therein, than to practiſe that righteouſneſs which it taught, and for three hundred years together ſtood firm thereto againſt all thoſe terrible ſtorms of perſecution which were raiſed againſt them, till at length by the holineſs of their lives, and the conſtancy of their ſufferings, they made a conqueſt over their very perſecutors, and brought over the world unto them. And are not our principles ſtill the ſame, and alſo, (thanks be to God, notwithſtanding the corruptions of the preſent age) the practice of many thouſands ſtill among us, who I doubt not will be as ready to undergo the ſame ſufferings thoſe primitive Chriſtians did, whenever God ſhall try them for that holy religion which they profeſs, as they now are to obſerve the righteouſneſs thereof. But ſuppoſing this had been all otherwiſe, and the mammon of this world, and not the righteouſneſs of God, were really the end for which our religion was deſigned; yet to renounce the world to gain a party, and afterwards make uſe of this party to gain the world, is a project ſo unfeaſible, that the former part of it muſt neceſſarily have overthrown the latter, whenever it had been attempted. For when men had been drawn over to a party under the ſpecious pretence of renouncing the world, and been inſtructed and firmly fixed in this principle, to make thoſe very ſame men afterwards to ſerve their turn for the gaining of a worldly intereſt, would be to make their doctrine and their practice ſo monſtrouſly to interfere, as muſt neceſſarily have broken all into pieces, and deſtroyed the whole deſign. Certainly, had they any ſuch deſign, they would never have thus

By Antoninus Pius in his epiſtle to the commons of Aſia. Juſtin Martyr, Apol. 2. and even by the heathen oracles themſelves Euſeb. in vita Conſtantini, lib. 2. c. 50, & 51.

poſſeſſed their diſciples with ſuch principles againſt it by the religion which they taught them; and in that they did ſo, I think nothing can be a more evident demonſtration, that they could never intend any ſuch end thereby. Mahomet knew well enough, this was not a way to carry what he deſigned, and therefore openly owned in his religion, what he aimed at thereby, and made his law to ſpeak for that empire and luſt, which he deſired to enjoy; and ſo when he had made his religion to obtain, he gained by virtue thereof the whole which he projected by it, and became poſſeſſed of the empire of all Arabia for the gratifying of his ambition, and as many women as he pleaſed for the ſatisfying of his luſt, which were the two ends which he drove at in the whole impoſture. And had Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles had any ſuch deſign in the religion which they taught, they muſt in the ſame manner have made their religion ſpeak for it, or elſe it could never have ſerved their purpoſe for the obtaining of it. And if their religion had ever offered any ſuch thing, it muſt neceſſarily have appeared in the books in which it is written.

And *2dly*, If they had been ſo wicked, as thus to impoſe upon the world a falſe religion for the promoting of their own intereſt, as that intereſt muſt have appeared in the contexture of the religion itſelf, and in thoſe books in which it was written, ſo alſo muſt their wickedneſs. For words and writings being the outward expreſſions of our inward conceptions, there is that connection between them, that although the former may often diſguiſe the latter, they can never ſo totally conceal them, but every accurate obſerver may ſtill be able through the one to penetrate into the other, and by what a man utters, whether in ſpeech or writing, ſee what he is at the bottom, do what he can to prevent it. There are indeed ſome that act the hypocrite ſo cunningly, as to diſſemble the greateſt wickedneſs under words, writings, and actions too, that ſpeak the

quite contrary. But this always is such a force upon their inclinations, and so violent a bar upon their inward passions and desires, that nature will frequently break through in spite of all art, and even speak out the truth amidst the highest pretences to the contrary. And there is no hypocrite, how cunningly soever he may act his part, but must this way very often betray himself. For wickedness being always uppermost in such a man's thoughts, and ever pressing forward to break forth into expression, it will frequently have its vent in what that man speaks, and in what he writes, do what he can to the contrary; the care, caution, and cunning of no man in this case being sufficient totally to prevent it. Furthermore, there is no man thus wicked, that can have that knowledge of righteousness, as thoroughly to act it under the mask, with that exactness as he who is truly righteous, lives and speaks it in reality. His want of experience in the practice, must in this case lead him into a great many mistakes and blunders in the imitation. And this is a thing which generally happens to all that act a part, but never more than in matters of religion, in which are many particulars so peculiar to the righteous, as none are able to reach them, but those only who are really such. And supposing there were any that could, yet there will ever be that difference between what is natural, and what is artificial; and between that which is true, real, and sincere, and that which is false, counterfeit, and hypocritical, that nothing is more easy than for any one that will attend it, to discern the one from the other. And therefore were Jesus Christ and his apostles such persons as this charge of imposture must suppose them to be, it is impossible but that the doctrines which they taught, and the books which they wrote, must make the discovery, and the New Testament would, as a standing record against them in this case, afford a multitude of instances to convict them hereof. That the Alcoran doth so as to Maho-

met, nothing is more evident; a ſtrain of rapine, bloodſhed and luſt running through the whole book, which plainly proves the author of it to be altogether ſuch a man as the charge of impoſture muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe him to be. And were the firſt founder of our holy religion, or the writers of thoſe books in which its doctrines are contained, ſuch men as he, both their doctrines and their books would as evidently prove it againſt them. But here I muſt again challenge you, and all other the adverſaries of our holy religion, to ſhew us any one particular in it, that can give the leaſt foundation to ſuch a charge, any one word in all the books of the New Teſtament, that can afford the leaſt umbrage or pretence thereto. Let what is written in them be tried by that which is the touch-ſtone of all religions, I mean that religion of nature and reaſon, which God hath written in the hearts of every one of us from the firſt creation; and if it varies from it in any one particular, if it preſcribes any one thing which may in the minuteſt circumſtance thereof be contrary to its righteouſneſs; I will then acknowledge this to be an argument againſt us, ſtrong enough to overthrow the whole cauſe, and make all things elſe that can be ſaid for it, totally ineffectual for its ſupport. But it is ſo far from having any ſuch flaw therein, that it is the perfecteſt law of righteouſneſs which was ever yet given unto mankind, and both in commanding of good, as well as forbidding of evil, vaſtly exceeds all others that went before it, and preſcribes much more to our practice in both, than the wiſeſt and higheſt moraliſt was ever able without it to reach in ſpeculation. For,

1*ſt*, As to the forbidding of evil, it is ſo far from indulging, or in the leaſt allowing us in any practice that favours hereof, that it is the only law which is ſo perfectly broad in the prohibition, as adequately to reach whatſoever may be evil in the practice; and without any exception, omiſſion, or defect,

ſolutely, fully, and thoroughly forbids unto us, whatſoever may have but the leaſt taint of corruption therein; and therefore it not only reſtrains all the overt-acts of iniquity, but alſo every imagination of the heart within, which in the leaſt tends thereto; and in its precepts prohibits us not only the doing or ſpeaking of evil, but alſo the harbouring or receiving into our minds the leaſt thought or deſire thereafter; whereby it ſo effectually provides againſt all manner of iniquity, that it plucks it up out of every one of us by the very roots, and ſo makes the man pure and clean, and holy altogether, without allowing the leaſt ſavour of evil to be remaining in him: and every one of us would be thoroughly ſuch, could we be but as perfect in our obedience to this law, as it is perfectly given unto us. And,

2dly, As to the commanding of good, its preſcriptions are, that we employ our time, our powers, and all other talents intruſted with us, to the beſt we are able, both to give glory unto God, and alſo to ſhow charity unto men; and this laſt not only to our friends, relations, and benefactors, but in general to all mankind, even to our enemies, and thoſe who deſpitefully uſe us and perſecute us; and hereby it advanceth us to that heighth of perfection in all holineſs and goodneſs, as to render us like the angels of light in our ſervice unto God, and like God himſelf in our charity to man. For it directs us in the ſame manner as the angels to worſhip and ſerve our God to the utmoſt ability of our nature; and in the ſame manner as God, to make our goodneſs to men extend unto all, without exception or reſerve, as far as they are capable of receiving it from us.

And can any man think it poſſible that a religion which ſo thoroughly and fully forbids all evil, and in ſo high and perfect a manner preſcribes us all good, could ever be the product of a wicked mind? The fruit is too good to proceed from ſo

corrupt a root, and the effect vaſtly above the efficiency of ſuch a cauſe ever to produce it. For can it poſſibly be imagined, that a wicked man could either have inclination to do ſo much for the promoting of that righteouſneſs which all his paſſions and deſires ſo violently run counter unto? Or if he would, that ſuch a one could ever be ſo well acquainted with all the ways thereof, as ſo exactly to preſcribe them? If it be ſo difficult for ſuch a one to conceal his inclinations in his expreſſions; if it be ſo hard for him, when he vents himſelf into words or writings, not to let looſe ſomething in them of what he really is (as I have already ſhown) how can any copy be drawn from ſuch a mind, but what muſt in ſome feature or other reſemble the original; or any thing at all proceed from thence, but what muſt carry with it ſome ſavour of the iniquity thereof? Set but ſuch a one to write a letter, and he will ſcarce be able to do it without putting ſo much of his paſſions and his temper into it, as that we may read from thence what he is, as every man's experience may tell him, that correſponds with ſuch; and how much more then may we be aſſured will he lay himſelf open, when he hath the large ſcope of a book to expreſs himſelf in, and eſpecially when that book is of ſuch a nature, as gives him the fulleſt occaſion, and the moſt inviting opportunity ſo to do? And what book can be more ſuch, than that which is to propoſe a new law to mankind? in the writing of ſuch a book, if ever, certainly the wicked man will ſhow himſelf, and in the ſame manner as Mahomet did, conform his laws to his own inclinations, and preſcribe ſuch rules of living to others, as may beſt juſtify him in thoſe which he himſelf follows. And although he ſhould not intend any ſuch thing, though he ſhould not deſign ſo to do (and it is hard to imagine of ſuch a man, that he ſhould not,) yet at leaſt the prevailing bent of his paſſions, and the corruption of his judgment, which always follows therefrom,

muſt neceſſarily lead him thereinto; it being, morally ſpeaking, altogether impoſſible, but that the wicked man muſt appear in what the wicked man doth; and the deeds, words, and writings which proceed from ſuch a one, muſt in ſome meaſure ſavour of what he is. And therefore if there be nothing in the law of our holy religion (as I hope I have fully ſhown that there is not) which can make the leaſt diſcovery of any ſuch thing, nothing that can afford the leaſt pretence for ſuch a charge againſt it, where ſo large a ſcope is given for it; this ſufficiently proves, that neither the firſt Founder of the Chriſtian religion, nor thoſe who firſt wrote it in the books of the New Teſtament, in which we now have it, could poſſibly be wicked men, and conſequently not ſuch Impoſtors as you would have them to be.

But here I know it will be objected, that there is no neceſſity that all Impoſtors ſhould be as wicked as Mahomet; and therefore though Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles were no ſuch wicked perſons, yet however they may be ſtill Impoſtors for all that. For, firſt, it hath happened that very juſt and good men have had recourſe to impoſture, to bring to paſs and eſtabliſh their moſt commendable deſigns; as we have an inſtance in Minos king of Crete, and another in Numa king of Rome, both which, to give the greater authority to their laws, pretended to have had them by divine revelation. And, ſecondly, you will ſay, it is poſſible a man may be an Impoſtor by enthuſiaſm, and miſtake, and falſely impoſe things for divine revelation, not out of a wicked deſign to deceive others, but that he is really deceived herein himſelf. And if in theſe two caſes a man that is not wicked may be an Impoſtor; you will urge, that though Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles were not wicked men, yet this will not prove them not to have been Impoſtors, becauſe it is poſſible, that in one of theſe two caſes they might have been ſuch.

In order to the clearing of the firſt of theſe objections, I deſire you would conſider theſe three following particulars.

1. That in every religion there are theſe two parts to be obſerved, very diſtinct from each other. 1. The religion itſelf. And, 2. The means whereby it is promoted and propagated among men.

2. When the impoſture is only in the former of theſe two; and a true religion, or at leaſt one that is really believed to be ſuch, is promoted and propagated among men by means of impoſture; that is, by feigning a divine revelation where there is none, or by counterfeiting miracles, or by any other ſuch means tending to deceive men thereinto; this amounts to no higher than a pious fraud, which out of an over-hot and inconſiderate zeal ſome men have made uſe of for the promoting of the beſt ends. And ſuch men, for the ſake of ſuch ends, may ſtill be denominated good and righteous in the main, how much ſoever they have been out in making uſe of ſuch means to promote them.

3. When the impoſture is in the end as well as in the means; and not only the revelation pretended, but alſo the religion itſelf is all falſe, counterfeit, and feigned; this amounts to ſuch an impoſture as is totally wicked, without any mixture of good therein. In the former caſe, where the impoſture is only in the means, there is a good end deſigned, and therefore ſomething ſtill from whence the perſon uſing it may be denominated good; but where the impoſture is in both, it is wickedneſs all over, without any thing at all in it to exempt him from being perfectly wicked that maketh uſe thereof.

Which particulars being premiſed, my anſwer to the objection is as followeth.

1. I do acknowledge it to be related by [1] authors of good

[1] Plato in Minoe & in primo Dialogo de legibus. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, lib. 1. Strabo, lib. 16. Valerius Maximus, l. 1. c. 2.

credit, that Minos king of Crete, when he firſt framed the laws of his country, to give them the greater authority, uſed to retire into a cave on mount Dicte, and from thence to bring them forth to the Cretans, as if they had been delivered to him by Jupiter. And that Numa, when he founded the laws of Rome [m] practiſed the ſame art, pretending to have received them from the nymph Egeria, that ſo he might procure them to be received by the Romans with the greater veneration. And by this device they both obtained their end, in bringing very rude and barbarous people to ſubmit to thoſe good orders and rules which they preſcribed for their living civilly, peaceably, and juſtly together. But this, although it were a fraud in the means, yet as far as it related only to a political end, belongs to another matter, and doth not at all fall within that argument of religion which we are now treating of.

2. As to the laws of Numa, I acknowledge that they reach not only matters of ſtate, but thoſe of religion alſo; and that the whole method of the old Roman religion was regulated and ſtated by them; but that Numa founded any new religion is what I utterly deny. For Numa left no other religion behind him in Rome at his death, than that very ſame heathenism which he found there at his firſt coming thither to be king. For the city having been then but newly founded, and the people made up of a collection of the refuſe and ſcum of divers nations there gathered together, they were as much out of order in matters of religion, as in thoſe belonging to the civil government; and all that Numa did, when he came to reign over them, was to make laws to regulate both; and therefore, as he founded ſeveral wholeſome conſtitutions for the orderly governing of the ſtate, ſo alſo did he for the regular worſhipping of the gods then acknowledged among them,

[m] Plutarchus in vita Numæ, & Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, lib. 1.

without making any eſſential alteration in the religion afore practiſed by them. For had he done ſo, then the religion of the Romans muſt have differed from the religion of the other cities of Italy, which we find it did not. For they communicated with each other in their worſhip, as they did alſo with the Greeks. And in truth, the old Roman religion was no other than the Greek heatheniſm, the ſame which was practiſed in Greece, and in all thoſe countries which were planted with colonies from thence, as almoſt all Italy was at that time. And therefore the Romans, as well as the reſt of the cities of Italy, looked on Delphos as a principal place of their worſhip, with the ſame veneration that the Greeks did, and had frequent recourſe thither on religious accounts, as the Roman hiſtories on many occaſions acquaint us. And this religion, Numa, while he lived among his Sabines, being accurately verſed in, and alſo a diligent practiſer of it; on his coming to Rome, finding the Romans all out of order in that little which they had of it (for during the reign of Romulus they minded little elſe but fighting, and therefore had not leiſure, or perchance any great regard for this matter) he not only inſtructed them more fully in it, according as it was received in the neighbouring nations, but alſo framed ſeveral rules and conſtitutions for their more regular and orderly practice of it, which did no more make the old heatheniſm of the Romans to be a new religion, than the body of canons given us by King James the Firſt, for the more orderly regulating of our worſhip and diſcipline, makes our religion a new Chriſtianity. Only Numa, the better to make his conſtitutions to obtain among thoſe barbarous people for whom he made them, pretended to have been inſtructed in them by a divine perſon; and in this he practiſed a pious fraud; but was by no means guilty of ſuch an impoſture as we are now treating of. For he taught them no new religion, but only the very ſame Greek heatheniſm

which he had received with the reſt of the people of Italy from their forefathers, and really believed to be that very true religion whereby God was to be ſerved; and therefore notwithſtanding the deceit he made uſe of, he might from the end which he propoſed, and which he really effected thereby, to the civilizing of a very barbarous ſort of people, be ſtill reckoned a juſt and good man; and to give him his due, he really was one of the moſt excellent perſonages of that age in which he lived; and firſt ſowed among the Romans the ſeeds of that virtue with which they ſo eminently ſignalized themſelves for ſo many ages after. But,

3. Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles took on them not only to be meſſengers ſent of God, but alſo to teach a new religion to the world; and therefore if they were Impoſtors, they muſt be ſo in the largeſt ſenſe, both in reſpect of the religion itſelf, as well as the means whereby they promoted it. And in this caſe there could be nothing to excuſe them from being altogether as wicked as I have alleged. Where the religion is true, or really believed ſo to be, there is a pious intention in the end, which may ſpeak ſome goodneſs in him that uſeth fraud to promote it; and ſuch a goodneſs as greatly exceeds the obliquity of the fault which he committeth about it; and therefore, although he cannot on the account of the good be excuſed from the evil (for it is always a ſcandal to religion to be promoted by falſehood) yet ſtill he muſt be reckoned more commendable from the one, than faulty from the other; and in this caſe there will ſtill be room enough left from the goodneſs of the end deſigned, and the piety of the intention, to denominate the man good and righteous in the main, notwithſtanding the fault committed in uſing ſuch means to bring it to effect. But where the religion is all forgery and falſehood, as well as the means of promoting it, deceit and fraud, the impoſture then becomes ſo totally and perfectly wicked, with-

out the leaſt mixture of good therein, as muſt neceſſarily denominate the authors and firſt propagators of it to be perfectly wicked alſo.

If you ſay, that ſuch a perfect impoſture as this can have any good end, for the ſake whereof the authors of it may be freed from that charge of wickedneſs which I lay upon them, that good end muſt be either the honour of God, or the benefit of men. But how can God be more diſhonoured than by a falſe religion? Or how can men be more miſchieved than by having the practice of it impoſed on them, whereby they muſt thus conſtantly diſhonour, and conſequently offend and loſe the favour of him that made them? An impoſture in this caſe hath that aggravation from the object it is about, as well as from the perfection of iniquity which is in the act, that ſuppoſing it could be made productive of any good end, that good would be ſo vaſtly over-ballanced by the wickedneſs of the means, that it would be of no weight in compariſon thereof, or at all avail to the rendering of thoſe that ſhall make uſe of it, leſs wicked than I have ſaid. But when a man can thus far proceed in wickedneſs towards God, as to be the author of conſtant diſhonour unto him in a falſe worſhip; and towards men, as to inſnare them into all that miſchief which muſt be conſequential hereto; it muſt neceſſarily imply ſuch a thorough diſregard of both, as every good intention, in reſpect of either, muſt be inconſiſtent with. And therefore, if it be poſſible that ſuch a wicked impoſture can ever be made the means to a good end, it is ſcarce to be conceived how they who are ſo wicked, as to be the authors of it, could ever intend any ſuch good thereby.

But further, if the authors of ſuch an impoſture as we are now treating of, can be leſs wicked than I have ſaid, on the account of any good which you pretend they may deſign thereby; I deſire to know among what ſort of men you will

place them, while you thus plead their excuſe. For they muſt be one of theſe three; that is, either Atheiſts, Deiſts, or believers of an inſtituted religion.

1. If you ſay they are Atheiſts, that word alone contains enough to prove them perfectly wicked, whatever can be ſaid to the contrary. It is indeed agreeable enough to the principles of this ſort of men, that ſuch an impoſture as we are treating of, may laudably be made uſe of to a good end. For they hold that all religion is nothing elſe but a device of politicians to keep the world in awe. But if the Atheiſt be the deviſer, what intention of good can the device carry therewith? None certainly towards God, ſince he utterly denies his being; nor can it in this caſe have any towards men, ſince by denying him for whoſe ſake it is that we are to do good to others, he caſts off therewith all the reaſon and obligation which he hath, abſtractive of his own intereſt, of doing any ſuch at all. All the good therefore that ſuch a one can aim at, muſt totally center in himſelf to advance his own enjoyments, and gratify his own luſts in all thoſe things which his corrupt affections carry him after; and to enjoy theſe without reſtraint of laws, or fear of puniſhment, being that alone which is the real and true cauſe that makes any man deny that ſupreme and infinitely good and juſt Being, whom all things elſe prove: whoever is an Atheiſt, muſt be perfectly wicked before he can be ſuch; and what is there which can, while in that impiety, ever give him a better character afterwards?

2. If you ſay they are Deiſts, ſuch as you profeſs yourſelves to be; your main principle is againſt all inſtituted religion whatever, as if God were diſhonoured, and man injured by every thing of this nature practiſed among us; and can you then think, that any who are thus perſuaded, can without being firſt corrupted to a great degree of impiety, as well as hypocriſy, ever become themſelves (ſo contrary to their own

ſentiments) on any pretence whatſoever, the authors and teachers of ſuch a religion among us?

3. But if you place them among thoſe who are believers of an inſtituted religion, they muſt aboliſh that which they believe to be true, before they can introduce that by impoſture which they know to be falſe. And this muſt be the caſe of Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles, if they were ſuch Impoſtors as you hold them to be. For they were educated and brought up in the Jewiſh religion, which they believed to be from God, and the whole tenor of the religion which they taught, ſuppoſeth it ſo to be; and that it was the only true way whereby God was to be worſhipped by them, till they delivered their new revelations, which totally aboliſhed this religion, and eſtabliſhed the Chriſtian in its ſtead; and therefore if thoſe revelations were not true and real, as they pretended they were, but all forged and counterfeited by them, as you ſay; they muſt aboliſh a religion, which they believed to be true, to make way for that which they knew to be falſe, and thereby become wilfully and knowingly, according to their own belief, the authors of leading men from ſaving truths, into damning errors, to the utter deſtruction of their ſouls for ever; and alſo of depriving God of that acceptable worſhip, whereby he was truly honoured according to his own appointment, to introduce in its ſtead a falſe ſuperſtition of their own deviſing, which muſt be a conſtant diſhonour unto him as long as practiſed among us. And if Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles were ſuch Impoſtors, as all this imports; and ſuch they muſt be if they were Impoſtors at all; they muſt be guilty of that impiety towards God, as well as that injuſtice towards men herein, as muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe them the wickedeſt of men before they could arrive hereto; and therefore if they were not ſuch wicked men, this abundantly demonſtrates, they could not be ſuch Impoſtors as you charge them to be.

As to the ſecond objection, that a man may be an Impoſtor through enthuſiaſm and miſtake, and falſely impoſe things for divine revelations, not out of a wicked deſign to deceive others, but that he is herein really deceived himſelf; and that therefore there is no neceſſity that all Impoſtors ſhould be ſuch wicked perſons as I have alleged: my anſwer hereto is,

1. I do acknowledge that enthuſiaſm hath carried men into very ſtrange conceits and extravagancies upon the foundation of a religion already eſtabliſhed, as we have inſtances enough hereof in the Anabaptiſts of Germany, the Quakers here with us, the [n] Bateniſts among the Mahometans, and in ſome of the Recluſes of the church of Rome. But that enthuſiaſm could ever go ſo far, as to fancy a divine revelation for the eſtabliſhing of a new religion, and upon ſuch a fancy propagate that religion in the world, as if it came from God, is that which I cannot believe; and there is no inſtance, that I know of, that can be given hereof. But,

2*dly*, Allowing it poſſible, this objection then, as applied to the caſe in hand, muſt ſuppoſe Jeſus Chriſt, and his apoſtles, to have been deceived by enthuſiaſm into the religion which they taught; and that therefore, although they were by no means ſuch wicked men as a wilful impoſture muſt ſuppoſe them to be, yet ſtill they might be Impoſtors by miſtake; and being by enthuſiaſm ſo far deluded, as to think that to come to them from God by divine revelation, which had no other birth but from their own wild fancies, might preach it to men as ſuch, not out of a wicked deſign to deceive, but that they were really herein deceived themſelves. But is it poſſible for

[n] They were a ſort of Mahometan enthuſiaſts in the Eaſt, who followed the light within them in the ſame manner as the Quakers with us, and therefore were called Bateniſts from the Arabic word, *Baten, intus*. And on this principle they did all the villanies imaginable, pretending an impulſe thereto from this light within them.

any man to conceive, that ſo grave, ſo ſerious, and ſo wiſely a framed religion as Chriſtianity is, could ever be the ſpawn of enthuſiaſm? Whatſoever is the product of that, uſeth ever to be like the parent, wild and extravagant in all its parts, often diſagreeing with all manner of reaſon, and often as much with itſelf. But Chriſtianity is in all its parts as rational as it is good, giving us the juſteſt notions of God, the beſt precepts of our duty towards him, and the exacteſt rules of living honeſtly and righteouſly with each other, and hath a thorough conformity to itſelf in every particular of it; on which account, it hath been approved and admired for the excellency of its compoſure, and the wiſdom of its conſtitutions, even by the beſt and wiſeſt of thoſe who never ſubmitted thereto; and therefore always carries with it marks and evidences enough in the very nature of it, ſufficiently to prove it vaſtly above the power of ſuch a cauſe ever to produce it.

3. The Founder and firſt teachers of Chriſtianity gave ſuch evidences for the truth thereof, as enthuſiaſm could never produce. For can enthuſiaſm raiſe the dead to life again, cure all manner of diſeaſes, and work ſuch other miracles as Chriſt and his apoſtles did? Had they by enthuſiaſm been miſtaken in the doctrines which they taught, certainly God would never have wrought ſuch wonderful works by their hands as give teſtimony thereto.

4. Several of the principal articles of our faith depend upon ſuch matters of fact, as allow no room for enthuſiaſm to take place in them; as that of the reſurrection of our Saviour from the dead, his aſcenſion into heaven, and the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt in the gift of tongues. For in ſuch things as theſe, which men ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and feel with their hands (as one of the apoſtles did the very wounds of our Saviour after his reſurrection) no enthuſiaſm can ever lead men into a miſtake. For can it poſſibly be ſaid,

that it was only by enthuſiaſm that five hundred men together ſaw Chriſt after he was riſen again from the dead? Or that it was by enthuſiaſm that his apoſtles ſaw him aſcend up into heaven from mount Olivet in the preſence of them all at noon-day? Or that it was only by enthuſiaſm that the ſame apoſtles on the day of Pentecoſt received the gift of tongues by the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon them, ſo as to be able to converſe with all the ſeveral nations then at Jeruſalem in their own languages, without ever having learned any thing of them? To ſay that men could any way be miſtaken in ſuch things as theſe, will be to deny the certainty of ſenſe, and overthrow the foundations of all manner of knowledge whatever. It muſt therefore be ſaid as to theſe particulars, as it muſt alſo of all the miracles of our Saviour, which give teſtimony to the doctrines which he taught, that his apoſtles, who teſtified them unto the world, and upon the credit of them built up that religion which they delivered unto us, did either ſee them really done as they relate, or they did not ſee them. If they did ſee them, no enthuſiaſm could ever make them be miſtaken therein; and if they did not, they muſt be altogether as bad Impoſtors as Mahomet himſelf, in teſtifying them unto us; and what but as great wickedneſs as his, could ever induce them ſo to do?

SECT. IV.

IV. The next mark of an impoſture is, that it muſt unavoidably contain in it ſeveral palpable falſities, whereby may be made appear the falſity of all the reſt. For whoever invents a lie, can never do it ſo cunningly and knowingly, but ſtill there will be ſome flaw or other left in it, which will expoſe it to a diſcovery; and no man who frames an invention, can ever ſecure it herefrom without two qualifications, which no man can have; and they are, 1ſt. A thorough knowledge

of all manner of truths. And *2dly*, ſuch an exact memory, as can bring them all preſent to his mind, whenever there ſhall be an occaſion. For to make the lie paſs without contradiction, he muſt make it put on a ſeeming agreement with all other truths whatever. And how can any one do this without knowing all truths, and having them alſo all ready and preſent in his mind to conſider them in order thereto? And ſince no man is ſufficient for this, no man is ſufficient ſo to frame a lie, but he will always put ſomething or other into it, which will palpably prove it to be ſo. For if there be but any one known truth in the whole ſcheme of nature with which it interferes, this muſt make the diſcovery; and there is no man that forgeth an impoſture, but makes himſelf liable this way to be convicted of it. This is the method whereby we diſtinguiſh ſuppoſitious authors from thoſe which are genuine, and fabulous writers from true hiſtorians. For there is always ſomething in ſuch, which diſagrees from known truths, to make the diſcovery; ſome flaw always left, in ſpite of the utmoſt care and foreſight of the forger, that betrays the cheat. Thus Annius' impoſture of his Beroſus, Manetho and Megaſthenes became detected, and ſo alſo we know the Tuſcan Antiquities of Inghiramius to be a cheat of the like nature. And by the ſame rule is it that we receive Saluſt, Tacitus, and Suetonius for true hiſtorians, and reject others as writers of fables, and of no authority with us: and if we examine the Alcoran of Mahomet by the ſame method, nothing can be more plainly convicted of falſity and impoſture, than that muſt be by it. For although in that book he allows both the Old and the New Teſtament to be of divine authority, yet in a multitude of inſtances he differs from both: I mean not in matters of law and religion, for here his deſign is to differ; but in matters of fact and hiſtory, which if once true, muſt evermore be the ſame. They have a fetch indeed to bring him off, by

ſaying, that the Jews and the Chriſtians corrupted thoſe holy books, and therefore where he relates things otherwiſe than they do, he doth there reſtore truth, and not vary from it. But certainly this will not hold, where by a very groſs blunder, he makes the Virgin ° Mary the mother of our Saviour, to be the ſame with Miriam, the ſiſter of Moſes. For this would be to put the goſpel ſo cloſe upon the heels of the law, as to allow no time for the taking place of this latter, before it would have been totally aboliſhed by the former. But what moſt diſcovers his impoſture, are the monſtrous miſtakes which he makes in the moral part thereof. For he allows fornication, and juſtifies adultery by his law, and makes war, rapine, and ſlaughter to be the main part of the religion which he taught; which being contrary to the nature of God, from whom he ſays he received it, and contrary to that law of unalterable and eternal truth, which he hath written in the hearts of all of us from the beginning; the obvious principles of every man's reaſon convict him of falſehood herein, and thereby manifeſtly prove all the reſt to be nothing elſe but an abominable impiety of his own invention. And were the religion of Jeſus Chriſt, as delivered to us in the New Teſtament, an impoſture like this, it muſt have the ſame ſlaws therein, that

° Alcoran, c. 3. where obſerve, that through all that chapter, in every place, where the French, and out of that the Engliſh tranſlation of the Alcoran, hath Joachim, in the original Arabic it is Amran, and from thence this chapter in the original is called *Surato'l Amran*, i. e. *the Chapter of Amran*. But in both theſe tranſlations it is called the chapter of Joachim. For Mahomet miſtaking the Virgin Mary to be the ſame with Miriam, the ſiſter of Moſes, makes Amran to be her father. But Ryer, the French tranſlator, very imprudently taking upon him to correct the Impoſtor's blunder, puts Joachim in the place of Amran, and thereby gives us a falſe verſion, where it is very material in order to the expoſing of that impoſture, to know the true. And the Engliſh

him herein.

is, many falſities in matter of fact, and more in doctrine, and all his prophecies would be without truth in the original, or verification in the event. And when you can make out any one of theſe particulars againſt it, then we will be ready to ſay the ſame thereof that you do, that all is cheat and impoſture, and no credit or faith is any longer to be given thereto.

And 1ſt, As to the matters of fact contained in the hiſtory of the New Teſtament, who ever yet convicted any one of them of falſehood? Or whoever ſo much as endeavoured it in the age when the books were firſt written, when the falſehood might have been beſt proved, had there been any ſuch in them, and the doing hereof would have ſo much ſerved the deſigns of thoſe bitter enemies of the Chriſtian cauſe, who from the firſt did the utmoſt they could to ſuppreſs it? When relations of matters of fact paſs uncontradicted and uncontrolled in the age in which they were tranſacted, and among thoſe who thought themſelves greatly concerned to have them believed falſe, this muſt be taken for an undeniable argument of their truth. And this argument the hiſtory of the New Teſtament hath on its ſide in its fulleſt ſtrength. For the books were written and publiſhed in the very age in which the things related in them were done, yet no one then ever contradicted or convicted of falſehood any one paſſage in them, though Chriſtianity had from the very beginning the profeſſors of all other religions in moſt bitter enmity againſt it, who would have been moſt ready and glad ſo to do, could they have found but the leaſt pretence for it. And had any of thoſe relations been falſe, there were then means enough undeniably to have convicted them of it. For thoſe things which are related of Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles in the hiſtory of the New Teſtament, are not there ſaid to have been done in corners, where none were preſent to contradict them, but upon the open ſtage of the world, and many of them in the

ſight of thouſands; and therefore had they not been really done, or done otherwiſe than related, there could not have wanted witneſſes enough to make proof hereof. And moſt certainly thoſe who ſo bitterly oppoſed Chriſtianity from the firſt, would have found them out, and made uſe of their teſtimonies to the utmoſt for the overthrowing of the cauſe they ſo violently oppoſed; and had they done ſo, to be ſure we ſhould have had thoſe teſtimonies in the mouths of all its enemies ever ſince. For they would have yielded them the ſtrongeſt and the moſt prevailing argument they could poſſibly have urged againſt it. The falſe pretences of all other Impoſtors have been detected by thoſe who lived in their times, and the true hiſtory is given of them inſtead of the falſe ones which they gave of themſelves. And had Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles been like Impoſtors, and the things related of them in the books of the New Teſtament falſe and forged, it is not poſſible to conceive, eſpecially in the circumſtances above mentioned, how they could have eſcaped the like diſcovery; but certainly in this caſe, amidſt ſo many witneſſes who could have proved the falſehood, and ſo many enemies who were eager to detect it, all muſt have come out, and every falſe narrative would have been ſhown to be ſuch, and the true one given in its ſtead, and we ſhould have heard enough hereof from the adverſaries of our holy religion through every age ſince. And that this was not done when there was ſuch bitter oppoſition againſt the Chriſtian religion from the firſt propagating of it, and it would have been ſo ſtrong an argument againſt it, can be aſſigned to no other cauſe, but that the things related were ſo evidently and manifeſtly true, as not to afford the leaſt pretence for the contradicting of them. But this is not all we have to ſay in the caſe. For it hath not only happened that none of thoſe matters of fact have ever been contradicted, or proved falſe by any of the firſt enemies

of Chriſtianity, who were beſt able to have done ſo, had there been that impoſture in them which you alledge; but on the contrary many of them have been allowed true, and atteſted by them. For two of the moſt ſurpriſing particulars related in the Goſpels are confirmed by the teſtimony of heathen writers, I mean the murder of the innocents by Herod at Bethlehem, and the wonderful eclipſe of the ſun, which happened at the death of our Saviour, contrary to the nature of a ſolar eclipſe, when the moon was in the full. [p] Macrobius tells us of the former, and [q] Phlegon Trallianus of the latter. And that which is the moſt important part of all, and bears the greateſt teſtimony to the truth of the whole, was allowed and acknowledged on all hands both by Jews and heathens even in their bittereſt oppoſition againſt the Chriſtian cauſe, I mean the account which is given in thoſe ſacred books of the miracles of our Saviour. For both of them have yielded to the truth hereof; only the Jews ſay, that he wrought them by virtue of the Tetragrammaton, or the ſacred name Jehovah, ſtolen by him out of the temple (which the ridiculouſneſs of the fable they relate concerning it, ſufficiently confutes) and the heathens, by magic art. And therefore Philoſtratus and Hierocles finding no other way to overthrow the authority which thoſe miracles gave his religion, confronted againſt him the hiſtory of Apollonius Tyaneus, whom they pretended by the ſame art of magic to have done as wonderful things, and by this means endeavoured at leaſt to invalidate thoſe miraculous works of his, which they could not deny. And,

2dly. As to the prophecies of our Saviour, the truth of their event in every particular proves the truth of him that pre-

[p] Saturnal. lib. 2. c. 4.

[q] Vide Chronicon Euſebii, & Origenis contra Celſum librum ſecundum, & Tract. ad Matthæum 35.

dicted them. For did he not come from God, how could he have this wonderful knowledge, as thus to foretel things to come? Were he not of the ſecrets of the Almighty, how could he ſo certainly have foreſhown what in aftertimes he would bring to paſs? If it were only by gueſs that he did ſo, how poſſibly could all things ſo exactly fall out in the event, that nothing ſhould in the leaſt happen otherwiſe than as he predicted; eſpecially ſince as to moſt of them, it cannot be ſo much as ſaid, that there was any place for human ſagacity; or the leaſt probable conjecture to help him to any foreſight therein? For how improbable was it that the religion which he taught, ſhould, againſt the bent of the whole world, have made ſo great and ſpeedy progreſs therein, as he foretold that it ſhould? or that ſuch inſtruments as he employed in this work, a company of poor, ignorant, and contemptible fiſhermen, ſhould ever have been able to have effected it, without the extraordinary providence of God over-ruling the hearts, as well as the power of men? A thing in the ordinary courſe of human affairs ſo unlikely to ſucceed, could never have been brought to paſs; nor could our Saviour have any manner of ground from the nature of the thing, ſo much as to gueſs at ſo ſtrange an event, and therefore could never have ſo punctually foretold it; but that being ſent of God to begin this work, he foreknew all that he would do for the perfecting of it. And the ſame is to be ſaid of what he further predicted of this holy religion as to its continuance among us to the end of the world, of the calling of the Gentiles thereinto, and the rejecting of the Jews; of the great calamities which ſhould attend that people (as accordingly they have through all ages ſince,) and particularly of that great and terrible calamity which was to fall upon them in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and accordingly happened about forty years after, which he ſo exactly foretold, not only as to the time, (for he ſaith it ſhould

be before that [r] generation ſhould paſs away) but alſo as to all other the moſt conſiderable circumſtances of it, that nothing can be a more exact and perfect comment on the 24th chapter of St. Matthew, and thoſe other paſſages in the Goſpels where this diſmal deſtruction is foretold, than that hiſtory of Joſephus which gives us an account how it was brought to paſs. And that part of the prophecy which relates to the final deſtruction of the temple, foretelling, 'that one ſtone ſhould 'not be left upon another,' hath been ſo exactly verified, that notwithſtanding ſeveral attempts which have been made for the re-edifying of it, it could never be effected; no, not as far as the laying of one ſtone upon another in order thereto, even to this day. And when Julian the apoſtate, out of deſign to confront this prophecy, and give the lie thereto, employed both the power and the treaſure of the Roman empire for the rebuilding of it, heaven itſelf interpoſed in an extraordinary manner, to make good what Chriſt had predicted to be the eſtabliſhed purpoſe of the Almighty, which nothing was able to alter, and by a miraculous fire deſtroyed the work as faſt as it was built, and at length forced the undertakers totally to deſiſt therefrom. For the truth whereof, I will not refer you to the teſtimony of Socrates Scholaſticus, Sozomen, Chryſoſtom, or any other of the Chriſtian writers who relate it; but to one whom you cannot ſuſpect of ſerving the intereſt of the Chriſtian cauſe herein, he being as much an adverſary thereto as any of you; I mean Ammianus Marcellinus, who was an heathen writer, and then ſerved under Julian in his wars in the Eaſt, at the ſame time when this happened. His words concerning it (lib. 23. c. 1.) are as followeth. ——*Ambitioſum quondam apud Hieroſolymam Templum, quod poſt multa & interneciva certamina, obſidente Veſpaſiano poſteaque Tito, ægre eſt ex-*

[r] Matth. c. 24. v. 34.

pugnatum, instaurare sumptibus excogitabat immodicis, negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro Præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque Provinciæ Rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes fecere locum, exustis aliquoties operantibus, inaccessum, hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum: i. e. 'Julian having a design to 'rebuild with extraordinary expence, the temple of Jerusalem, 'formerly a very stately structure (which, first Vespasian, and 'after Titus, laying siege thereto, was, after many bloody con-'flicts, at length with difficulty taken and destroyed) commit-'ted the care of the business to Alypius the Antiochian, who 'formerly had been propræfect of Britany, to be with all speed 'expedited by him. But while Alypius was diligently pressing 'on the work, and the governor of the province helping him 'therein, dreadful balls of fire breaking forth from the foun-'dations of the building, did by their frequent eruptions make 'the place unaccessible, the workmen being several times de-'stroyed by the fire, as they went to their labour; and by 'this means the element still persisting as of purpose to obstruct 'it, the work ceased.' And it hath never since been again attempted, even to this day, nor is there now left the least remainder of its ruins, to show so much as the place where this temple once stood; or have those who travel thither, any other mark whereby to find it out, but the Mahometan mosque, erected on the same plat by Omar, the second successor of Mahomet; and which hath now continued for above a thousand years to pollute with the worst of superstitions, that sacred ground on which it was formerly built. Had our Saviour been an Impostor, and foretold all these things without any knowledge of the counsels of him who was to bring them to pass, something certainly must have happened in the event of so many particulars, as would have given the lie to his predic-

tions, and you the opportunity of convicting him thereof by plain matters of fact falling out contrary to them. And although this could not have been done at firſt, but poſſibly ſuch prophecies as theſe might have impoſed for a while on the credulity of many; yet we that have paſſed the time of their completion, could never be deceived thereby; but by the event muſt plainly know, whether what he foretold be true or falſe, and from thence have enough to make a judgment alſo of the truth of him that predicted them. And therefore had our Saviour, like Mahomet, invented his religion to deceive the world; if he intended it ſhould have continued, he muſt have taken the ſame courſe that Mahomet did, and never ventured at any prophecy at all, that he might not be confuted by the event, and ſo loſe his whole deſign. If you anſwer, that our Saviour foretold future events after the ſame manner as the Phariſees ſaid he wrought his miracles; that is, by the prince of the devils: you aſcribe that knowledge to the wicked one, which is above his reach to attain unto. The oracles which he gave in the heathen temples, only prove him able to cheat mankind with dubious and dark anſwers, but never clearly to inform them of the future purpoſes of the Almighty. And indeed, how can it be imagined that ſuch an accurſed one, as he that is caſt off at the greateſt diſtance from God (who alone governs all the works of his creation, and by the wiſdom of his providence orders every event that attends them) ſhould ever be ſo privy to his counſels, as to be able to foreknow any thing that he determines concerning them; unleſs it be where he himſelf is employed as an executioner of his juſtice to bring it to paſs? But all our Saviour's predictions were clear and full, foretelling things to come, in the ſame manner as hiſtorians relate them when paſt, without ambiguity in the words, or perplexity in the matter, or the leaſt room left for evaſion or deceit in them, and were all ex-

actly fulfilled in their appointed time; and we have the continuance of his Goſpel, the ſpreading of it through all the nations of the earth, the rejection of the Jews, the calamities of thoſe people in a continued exile, and the total deſtruction of their temple, ſtanding evidences hereof, even to this day. And how could all this ever have happened ſo exactly according to his word, but that he was that holy and bleſſed One, who had the counſels of the Almighty communicated unto him, and was ſent by Him on purpoſe to declare unto us as many of them as were neceſſary for us to know, in order to the attaining of everlaſting life? And,

3dly, As to the doctrinal part of his religion, what can be more worthy of God, than the notions which he gives us of him, and the worſhip which he directs us to render unto him? And what more worthy of us, and perfecting of our nature, than that law for the conduct of our lives which he hath delivered unto us? And what can be more holy, pure, and perfect, than the precepts thereof? Here the ſublimity and vaſt extent of the matter give ſcope large enough for the wiſeſt of men to bewilder and loſe themſelves in error and miſtake; and yet convince us but of any one ſuch in the whole extent of our religion, and that alone ſhall be ſufficient to prove the impoſture you would charge it with, and I will yield you all you would have for the ſake thereof. But it is ſo far herefrom, that I durſt make you yourſelves the judges, whether it delivers any thing elſe unto us of the nature and excellencies of God, but what the reaſon of every man (although barely that alone, through that cloud of ignorance and error which the fall hath over-ſpread us with, could never clearly make the diſcovery) muſt now, when thus diſcovered, ever juſtify and admire: whether it preſcribes us any one particular relating to his worſhip, but what is moſt agreeable to thoſe his excellencies: and whether the precepts and laws therein laid down

unto us for the governing of our lives and converſations, be any other than what do all correſpond ſo exactly with every thing which the rational dictates of our nature direct us to, that they take them all in without omiſſion or defect, and improve them to the utmoſt without error or miſtake in the leaſt circumſtance that belongs unto them? If you ſay, that all this might be attained to by human wiſdom and ſtudy; I anſwer, ſuppoſing it could, yet looking on our Saviour barely as a man, and his holy apoſtles without any other aſſiſtance than that of their own natural endowments, how poſſibly could they reach ſo high? To do this requires that vaſt compaſs of knowledge in all the things of nature, law, and morality, as it is not poſſible to conceive men of their education and low employments in the world, could ever have arrived unto. If you examine what other men have done by human wiſdom and ſtudy only, you will find thoſe of the moſt elevated genius and ſublimeſt underſtanding could never with their utmoſt induſtry and ſearch attain unto what you ſuppoſe herein, or that the higheſt knowledge of men could ever reach that perfection in any of the particulars above mentioned, in which the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt delivers them unto us. For what blunders and abſurdities do the wiſeſt of the philoſophers lay down concerning the Deity? What errors and follies have they taught and practiſed concerning his worſhip? And what miſtakes have thoſe who exalted morality to the higheſt pitch among men, made therein? Plato in his common-wealth allowed the common uſe of women. Ariſtotle aſſerts it to be natural and juſt for the Greeks to make war upon the barbarians, for no other reaſon but that they are ſo; and both he and Tully place revenge among their virtues. And who ever had vaſter capacities for human knowledge, or ever went higher by the abilities of natural reaſon and underſtanding only in the ſearch thereof, than thoſe men? Yet ſtill being no more than men, they could

not avoid putting ſomething of the infirmities of man even into that wherein they made appear their higheſt perfections; error, miſtake, and ignorance being ſo natural unto all of us, that neither the greateſt, the wiſeſt, nor the beſt among us can be totally free therefrom. And therefore had Chriſt and his apoſtles no other help in the doctrines which they taught, but that which is human, they muſt alſo in like manner have put that which is human thereinto, and the infirmities, miſtakes and errors that attend human nature, would have appeared in all that they delivered unto us. But the doctrines which they taught, and the books in which they delivered them unto us, being ſo totally free from all ſuch errors and miſtakes, as I have already ſhewn that they are; this directs us to look higher than man for the Founder of this holy religion, and the original Author of thoſe books in which it is contained; and neceſſarily proves, that only he who is infinite in knowledge, and infinite in all other perfections, could thus give us a law ſo exactly like himſelf, thoroughly perfect in the whole, and infallibly true in every particular thereof.

SECT. V.

V. Another mark of impoſture is, that wherever it is firſt propagated, it muſt be done by craft and fraud; and this is natural to all manner of cheats. For the end of ſuch being to deceive, craft and fraud are the means whereby it is to be effected. In this caſe a lie muſt be made to go for a truth, and an appearance for a reality; and to compaſs this, a great deal of art muſt be made uſe of, both to dreſs up the cheat, that it may appear to be what it pretends, and alſo to caſt ſuch a miſt before the eyes of men, that they may not ſee it to be otherwiſe, and that eſpecially where the cheat is an impoſture in religion. For whoever comes with a new religion to be propoſed to the world, muſt find all men ſo far prejudiced and prepoſ-

ſeſſed againſt it, as they are affected to the old one they have before profeſſed; and therefore when men are educated, or any otherwiſe fixed and ſettled in a religion (and all mankind are in ſome or other) they are not apt eaſily to forego it, but it muſt be ſomething more than ordinary that muſt bring them over to another contrary thereto. When the new religion really comes from God (as the Jewiſh religion firſt, and after the Chriſtian did) it brings its credentials with it, the power of miracles to make way for its reception. For when men find the omnipotency of God working with it, they have from thence ſufficient evidence given them from whom it comes, and there is need of no other means to induce them to believe, but that the religion which God doth in ſuch a manner own and atteſt, muſt be from him. But where there is no ſuch power accompanying the new religion to gain credit thereto, the defect hereof muſt be made up by ſomewhat elſe, to draw over the people to its belief; and this is that which muſt put all Impoſtors upon craft and fraud in order to the compaſſing of their ends. But that Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles made uſe of no ſuch craft or fraud to induce men into the belief of that holy religion which they taught, and conſequently could be no ſuch Impoſtors, will be beſt made appear by going over all thoſe ways of craft and fraud which Mahomet ſerved himſelf of: and by ſhowing you that none of them can poſſibly be ſaid to have been practiſed by any of them. For Mahomet being one of the craftieſt cheats that ever ſet up to impoſe a falſe religion on mankind, and the only perſon that ever carried on his wicked deſign with ſucceſs, you may be ſure he left no art or device unpractiſed, which could poſſibly be made uſe of with any advantage for the compaſſing of it. And therefore by proving unto you that none of thoſe methods of craft and fraud, which were made uſe of for the firſt propagating of Mahometiſm, were ever practiſed in the firſt preaching of

Chriſtianity; I ſhall ſufficiently prove that no craft or fraud at all, which is any way practicable on ſuch occaſions, can ever be charged thereupon. For,

1ſt, Mahomet made uſe of all manner of inſinuation both with rich and poor, for the gaining of their affection, thereby to gain them to his impoſture alſo. But our Saviour Chriſt and his apoſtles did quite the contrary, freely convincing all men of their ſins, without having regard to any thing elſe but the faithful diſcharge of the miſſion on which they were ſent; which inſtead of reconciling men to their perſons, provoked the world againſt them, and they ſufficiently experienced it from the ill uſage which they found therein.

2dly, Mahomet, the eaſier to draw over the Arabians to his party, indulged them by his law in all thoſe paſſions and corrupt affections which he found them ſtrongly addicted to, eſpecially thoſe of luſt and war, which thoſe barbarians, above all the nations of the earth, were by their natural inclinations moſt violently carried after; and therefore he allows them a plurality of wives, and a free uſe of their female ſlaves for the ſatisfying of their luſt, and makes it a main part of his religion for them to fight againſt, plunder, and deſtroy all that would not be of it. But Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles allowed no ſuch practices, but ſtrictly prohibited all manner of ſin, how much ſoever in reputation among men, even to the forbidding of many things till then allowed and held lawful among thoſe who were called God's own people; and therefore inſtead of ſeeking the favour of men, by indulging them in their luſts and ſinful practices, they laid a much ſtricter reſtraint upon them than was ever done before.

3dly, Mahomet to pleaſe his Arabians, retained in the religion which he taught them, moſt of thoſe rites and ceremonies which they had been accuſtomed to under that which he aboliſhed, and alſo the temple of Mecca, in which they were

chiefly performed. But Jeſus Chriſt, without having any regard to the pleaſing of men, aboliſhed both the temple and the law, which the Jews were ſo bigotted unto, and alſo the total worſhipping of God by ſacrifices, without being at all influenced to the contrary, by that extravagant fondneſs which he knew the whole world had then for them.

4thly, Mahomet, when he found any of his new laws not ſo well to ſerve his turn, craftily ſhifted the ſcene, and brought them about to his purpoſe by ſuch alterations as would beſt ſuit therewith; and therefore when his making his Kebla towards Jeruſalem did not ſo well pleaſe his countrymen, he turned it about again towards Mecca, and ordered all his pilgrimages thither, as in the time of their idolatry. And the like changes he made in many other particulars, according as he found his intereſt required. And this is that which every Impoſtor muſt do. For intereſt being the end which all ſuch aim at, it is impoſſible that they can ſo well lay their deſigns in order to it, but that emerging changes in the one, will frequently require changes in the other alſo. But Jeſus Chriſt never made the leaſt alteration in any of the doctrines or precepts which he delivered, but what he firſt taught, both he and his diſciples immutably perſiſted in, without at all regarding how violently all the intereſts of the world ran counter to them herein. And what can be a more certain evidence that none ſuch was the bottom which they were built upon?

5thly, Mahomet, under pain of death, forbad all manner of diſputes about his religion, and nothing could be a wiſer courſe to prevent its follies and abſurdities from being detected and expoſed. For they being ſuch as could never ſtand the trial of a rational examination, they muſt all have ſoon been exploded, had every man been allowed the free uſe of his reaſon to enquire into them. But Chriſt and his apoſtles direct the quite contrary courſe. For our Saviour bids the Jews ſearch

the Scriptures for the trial of thoſe truths which he taught them, (John 5. *v.* 39.) And the noble Beræans are commended, that they did ſo, before they would receive thoſe doctrines of the Chriſtian religion which were preached unto them, Acts 17. *v.* 11. And St. Paul gives us this general rule, firſt to prove or try all things, and then to hold faſt that only which we find to be good, 1 Theſ. 5. *v.* 21. It is only error and falſehood that deſires to ſhelter itſelf in the dark, and dares not expoſe itſelf to an open view and trial. But truth being always certain of its own ſtability, makes uſe of no art to ſupport itſelf, but dares venture itſelf abroad on its own foundation only, and boldly offers itſelf to every man's ſearch; and the more it is ſifted and examined into, the more bright and refulgent will it always appear. And ſince Chriſtianity from the firſt ever took this courſe (as it ſtill doth wherever purely profeſſed) and inſtead of prohibiting diſputes about it, invites all men to ſearch and examine thereinto; this ſufficiently argues, how certain the firſt teachers of it were of its truth, and that no cheat or impoſture could ever be intended thereby.

6thly, Mahomet made choice of a people firſt to propagate his impoſture among, who were of all men moſt fitted to receive it; and that on two accounts: 1. Becauſe of the indifferency which they were grown to as to any religion at all: And, 2. Becauſe of the great ignorance they were in of all manner of learning at that time, when he firſt vented his forgeries among them, there being then but only one man among all the inhabitants of Mecca that could either write or read. For who are more fit to be impoſed on than the ignorant? And who can be more eaſy to receive a new religion, than thoſe who are not prepoſſeſſed with any other to prejudice them againſt it? The Papiſts, who, next Mahomet, have the greateſt claim to impoſture, as to thoſe errors which they teach,

very well underſtand how ſuch a cauſe is to be ſerved by both thoſe particulars; and therefore make it their buſineſs as much as they can, to keep their own people in ignorance, and pervert all thoſe they call heretics, to Atheiſm and infidelity, that ſo having no religion at all, they may be the better prepared again to receive theirs. And that there are ſo many Atheiſts now among us, it is too well known, how much it is owing to their helliſh artifice againſt us. But all was quite contrary as to thoſe whom Chriſt and his apoſtles firſt preached our holy religion unto. Our Saviour did not chooſe ſuch ignorant times to come among us in, or a people ſo indifferent in religion, firſt to manifeſt himſelf unto. For the Jews were ſo far from being weary of that religion which they had ſo long profeſſed, when he firſt appeared in his miſſion among them, that they were then grown into the contrary extreme; a very extravagant bigotry and ſuperſtition concerning it; ſo that nothing was more difficult, than to withdraw them from it; nor could any thing be more offenſive to them, than an offer tending thereto; and ſo it continues with them, even to this day. And the caſe was not much otherwiſe as to all the reſt of mankind; the Gentiles being then grown almoſt as tenacious of their idolatry, as the Jews of their law; and learning was in that age among both at the higheſt pitch that ever it was in the world; and conſequently, men were never leſs diſpoſed than at that time, to receive a new religion, or ever better able to defend their old. And therefore had Chriſtianity been an impoſture, it could never have eſcaped, in ſuch an age as that, a full detection, or ever have been able to have borne up againſt it; ſuch inquiſitive heads, and piercing wits, as were then in the world, would have ſifted it to the bottom, dived into its deepeſt ſecrets, and unravelled and laid open the whole plot, and the prejudiced world would immediately have cruſhed it to pieces thereupon, ſo that it ſhould

never more have appeared among mankind. But the truth of our holy religion was ſuch, that it boldly offered itſelf to this trial; and it ſeems to have choſen ſuch an age as this, firſt to come into the world, on purpoſe to undergo it, that ſo it might be the better juſtified thereby. And juſtified by it, it was; for although it were oppoſed by the utmoſt violence of the prejudiced world, they could get no ground of it; though it were thoroughly examined, and diligently ſearched into by the acuteſt and ſubtileſt wits of thoſe ages in which it firſt appeared, they could never diſcover any fraud, or make out the leaſt flaw therein; but, in ſpite of both, it triumphed, by its own naked truth only, over all manner of oppoſition, and by God's mercy continues ſtill ſo to do, even to this day. That a cheat and a fraud in a thing of this nature ſhould be impoſed on men totally ignorant and illiterate, or that ſuch as they, when void of all manner of religion, (as the men of Mecca for the moſt part were when Mahomet began his impoſture among them) ſhould be eaſy to embrace a new one, is no hard matter to conceive; but that an impoſture ſhould be received, and obtain ſuch prevalency over men in ſo learned and diſcerning an age, as that wherein Chriſtianity firſt appeared in the world, or that they who were then ſo zealouſly addicted to the religion they had been educated in, whether Jews or Gentiles, ſhould ever have been induced to forſake it for a new one, founded only on a cheat and fraud, is what, morally ſpeaking, we may very well reckon impoſſible.

7thly, Mahomet offered at no prophecies, that he might not run the hazard of being confuted by the event. But Jeſus Chriſt delivered many clear and plain prophecies, ſeveral of which reſpected that very age in which he lived, and were all in their proper time as plainly verified by the completion of them.

8thly, Mahomet offered at no miracles in public, although

continually called upon and provoked to it by his oppoſers. For not being able to work any true ones, he would not hazard himſelf to a diſcovery by thoſe which were counterfeit. And therefore all thoſe things which he would have go for miracles; that is, his converſe with the angel Gabriel, his journey to heaven, and the armies of angels that helped him in his battles, are only related by him as things acted behind the curtain, of which there was no other witneſs but himſelf alone, and conſequently there could be no witneſs on the other ſide ever to contradict them. But Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles having the real power of working miracles, did them openly in the ſight of thouſands, where all manner of opportunity was given to every ſpectator to examine into them, and try whether they were true or no; and therefore had there been any cheat or fraud in them, it is not poſſible to conceive how they ſhould have eſcaped a diſcovery. And yet no ſuch diſcovery could ever be made; which was ſo convincing an argument of their truth and reality, that even the bittereſt enemies of our holy religion from the firſt yielded in this particular, and both Jews and heathens allowed all thoſe miraculous works which are related of our Saviour and his apoſtles in the books of the New Teſtament, to have been really and truly wrought by them, as hath been afore obſerved. And indeed the evidence was too manifeſt to be denied, ſince thoſe very blind that received their ſight, thoſe dumb that were enabled to ſpeak, thoſe deaf that were reſtored to their hearing, thoſe lame that were made to walk, and thoſe dead that were raiſed again to life, lived many years after to be as ſtanding monuments of the truth of thoſe things, which no one could contradict. And therefore the oppoſers of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt have all along rather choſen to invalidate the authority of thoſe miracles, than deny the truth and reality of them.

For they allowing the matters of fact, object that there are

other powers lower than the divine, that are able to bring them to paſs; and therefore, although thoſe works were wrought, they do not yet prove either the perſons or the doctrines which they taught to come from God, and conſequently can give no ſuch evidence, as that which we inſiſt upon them for the truth of that religion which we profeſs; that others, by magic art, have done the ſame things; that the Scriptures tell us ſo of Jannes and Jambres, and Simon Magus; and profane writers of Apollonius Tyaneus, Apuleius, and others; and both Moſes and Jeſus Chriſt knew this very well, and therefore forewarned their diſciples againſt it, telling them that falſe prophets ſhould ariſe, who ſhould ſhow ſigns and wonders to deceive, if poſſible, the very elect; and that they ſhould take care not to hearken to them. And therefore, ſay they, if ſigns and wonders can be wrought by falſe prophets, how can they be evidences for the true; or how can we at all rely upon them for the verifying of any doctrine which they deliver unto us? Or if thoſe miracles which were wrought by them who are ſent of God, be only true miracles, and all others falſe ones, how ſhall we diſtinguiſh the one from the other, ſo as by them to diſcern, whether the doctrines be of God or no?

But theſe difficulties will be eaſily removed, and the miracles of our Saviour and his apoſtles, as they are allowed to be truly wrought by them, ſo alſo will they as truly prove the doctrines which they taught, to come from God, if you will but conſider theſe following particulars.

1. Miracles are works done which are ſtrange and amazing to us, as being brought to paſs out of the ordinary road, and in a manner which we cannot comprehend; and theſe are of two ſorts: 1. Such as exceed only the power of man to effect them; and theſe we call ſigns or wonders: And, 2. Such as exceed the power of any created being whatſoever; and theſe only are properly miracles.

2. Wherever ſuch miracles are wrought, as are of this laſt ſort, God alone muſt be the author of them; and therefore, wherever ſuch are found, they manifeſtly prove the power of God co-operating with the perſons, at whoſe word they are done; and with whomſoever it doth thus co-operate, it neceſſarily demonſtrates their miſſion from him, and puts ſuch an authentic ſeal to the truth of the doctrines which they teach, as cannot be denied.

3. Wherever a creating power is neceſſary to the effect produced, or the ſtated laws of nature are altered, there it is certain none but God himſelf can be the Author of the work done. For he alone is able to create; and he having created all things according to his infinite wiſdom, and given to each their proper eſſence and operations, he allows none but himſelf to alter the natures of them, or change that courſe which he hath put them into.

4. But within the laws and powers of nature, there are abundance of things which exceed the power of man to effect, and therefore ſeem as miracles to us, which may be produced by other created beings, and theſe are evil ſpirits as well as good.

5. To the producing of theſe effects, evil ſpirits as well as good are enabled two manner of ways: 1. By their greater knowledge of the powers of nature; And, 2. By the greater agency which they have to apply them to effect. For,

6. There are a multitude of things in nature, that thoſe ſpirits know the nature of, which we do not. For their abilities of knowing are vaſtly above ours, as not working by the dull tools of earth and clay, as we do, and their experience exceedingly greater, as having known the works of God from the beginning, and by long obſervation pryed deep into the ſecrets of them. If a chymiſt or a mathematician, by his ſkill in the powers of nature, can do many things, which, to the

ignorant and unlearned, ſhall ſeem as miracles, (as we often find) how much more can thoſe knowing ſpirits do ſo, whoſe knowledge of the powers of nature is vaſtly more above all ours put together, than the higheſt and perfecteſt of ours is above that of the moſt ignorant that lives among us. But,

7. As thoſe ſpirits have a vaſtly greater knowledge of the powers of nature than we can have, ſo alſo have they a vaſtly greater power to apply them to effect. For they are of a much greater agility in their motion, of a much finer ſubſtance to penetrate into things, and actuate them into operation; and alſo of a much ſtronger agency or power to work than we have, and which, no doubt, they are endowed more or leſs with, according to the different orders and degrees in which God hath created them; and by both theſe together, that is, their greater knowledge of natural cauſes, and their greater power to apply them to effect, can they do a great many things within nature's limits, which exceed all the powers of men to effect, and ſeem as miraculous and wonderful unto us, whenever brought to paſs.

8. Good ſpirits never work thoſe miracles, but in ſubſerviency to the Divine will, as they are neceſſary for the effecting of thoſe things which God hath ordained by their miniſtry to bring to paſs. And to them thoſe miracles mentioned in Scripture, which exceed not the power of ſuch created beings, may be referred as the immediate authors of them; it not being likely that God would interpoſe his immediate power, excepting only in ſuch caſes, as where there was need of it. For why ſhould the Lord himſelf put his hand to that work, which may as well be diſcharged by the miniſtry of his ſervants?

9. Evil ſpirits having in a great meaſure the ſame knowledge of natural cauſes as the good, and the like power to bring them to effect, can alſo work the like wonders, and by God

are often permitted ſo to do, both for the trial of men, and alſo for other good cauſes which to him of his infinite wiſdom ſeem fitting; and we have a plain inſtance of it in the caſe of Job.

10. Evil ſpirits have not only this power of working the like wonders, which good ſpirits do, but alſo another, which good ſpirits will never make uſe of; that is, by juggle, deluſion, and deceit to imitate thoſe true and proper miracles, which none but God himſelf can really effect. And thus, by the deluſion of the devil, was a cheat put upon Saul in the raiſing of Samuel to him from the dead. For really to raiſe Samuel from the dead, none but God could, and therefore that appearance which Saul ſaw, was no more than a falſe appearance, contrived by the devil to put a cheat and deluſion upon him. And of this ſame ſort may we reckon the miracles which Jannes and Jambres wrought in imitation of Moſes. For to turn a rod into a ſerpent, and water into blood, or to cauſe frogs to come up upon the land, in which three particulars they did the ſame thing by their inchantments, that Moſes did by the hand of God, are works, which if really done, require the creating power to bring them to effect, which none but God hath; and therefore in this caſe the devil acted for them, not by his effecting, but only by his deluding power. And ſuch miracles the Scripture calls τέρατα ψεύδους κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ; *i. e.* 'Lying or falſe miracles, which are not really 'wrought, but only made ſo to appear by the juggle and de-'luſion of Satan.'

11. Thoſe cheats and deluſions of the devil, whereby he imitates the true and real miracles of God, which he cannot work, are only in tranſient effects, like thoſe of jugglers upon a ſtage, never in ſuch as are laſting and permanent. And

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[1] 2 Theſ. 2. 9.

where the effect is totally tranſient, God's works are often ſo far above the devil's imitation, that even in theſe there will be ſtill a multitude of particulars, wherein he can have no power, as much as by juggle or deluſion, to do any thing like unto them.

12. Whatſoever ſigns or wonders are wrought by magicians or falſe prophets, muſt be referred to one of theſe two heads; that is, that they are either the devil's works, or the devil's deluſions: and the Scriptures, which tell us of magicians and falſe prophets working ſuch ſigns and wonders, do in many places refer them hereto.

13. Thoſe ſigns or wonders which are really wrought by the devil and his evil ſpirits, are to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe which are wrought by the power of angels or good ſpirits, by theſe following marks: 1. That angels or good ſpirits never work thoſe wonders, but in ſubſerviency to the will of God, for the promoting of truth and righteouſneſs; but the devil and his evil ſpirits only for the promoting of error and wickedneſs. 2. Angels or good ſpirits, never co-operate in the production of thoſe wonders with any prophet or teacher, but ſuch only as, being ſent of God, are good and righteous perſons; but the devil and his evil ſpirits only with ſuch as, not being ſent of God, are evil like themſelves. 3. Angels or good ſpirits never exert their power to work theſe wonders, but in things ſerious and grave, whereby either the good of men, or the honour of God is promoted; but the devil and his evil ſpirits do it moſtly in things miſchievous both to God's honour and man's good, or elſe in ſuch trivial and fooliſh matters as are beneath God or his holy angels to be concerned in. And by the ſame marks alſo may we diſtinguiſh God's miracles from the devil's juggles, and thoſe wonderful works which the hand of the Almighty really effecteth, from thoſe falſe appearances which the devil makes in imitation of them, to put

a cheat and a deluſion upon us. Which particulars being premiſed, the anſwer to the foregoing objections will be as followeth.

1. We do acknowledge that abundance of very wonderful works may be effected by powers lower than the divine, and that not only by good ſpirits, but alſo by evil.

2. That therefore ſuch works alone are never ſufficient proof of a divine miſſion, unleſs corroborated by ſuch concurring circumſtances as prove them not to be from evil ſpirits, but only from good.

3. That wherever ſuch wonderful works are done at the word of a wicked man, or to a wicked purpoſe, (*i. e.* either to influence to a wicked practice, or to give credit to ſome falſe doctrine) or elſe in ſuch mean and trivial caſes as are beneath the majeſty of God or his miniſtering ſpirits to be concerned in, there we may be ſure that he that doth thoſe works, how much ſoever he may pretend to a divine miſſion, is only a falſe prophet; and that it is not by the power of God or his good ſpirits, but only by the power of the devil and his wicked ſpirits, that they are wrought; and againſt thoſe wonders is it, and the workers of them, that Moſes warneth the Jews, and Jeſus Chriſt his diſciples, that they ſhould be aware of them.

4. Where they who work thoſe wonders are holy and righteous men, and do not teach any doctrine contrary to the certain dictates of natural religion, or the revelations of God afore given us, and the wonders which they work are in ſuch ſerious and grave matters as are not unworthy of God or his miniſtering ſpirits to be concerned in, there we have no reaſon to ſuſpect Satan's power in the effecting of them; and therefore ſuch works may, although not of themſelves alone, yet with theſe concurring circumſtances, be ſufficient proofs of the truth of any doctrine which they give teſtimony unto.

For although they cannot be proved to be immediately from God, becauſe producible by inferior beings; yet with theſe circumſtances accompanying them, they muſt at leaſt appear to be the works of his miniſtering ſpirits, who can bear teſtimony to nothing but what is from God, whoſe will they are in all things ſubſervient unto.

5. As ſuch works which the devil and his evil ſpirits can do, are not of ſelf-ſufficient proof to a divine miſſion, ſo neither are ſuch which he can by juggle or deluſion imitate; becauſe men may be deceived by the one as well as the other; and therefore the ſame concurring circumſtances are neceſſary to theſe alſo, and by the ſame marks are they to be tried, whether they be of God or no.

6. But where the works are ſuch as no created being can either really produce, or by juggle or deluſion imitate, there thoſe works do of themſelves alone prove a divine miſſion, and give an authentic ſeal of undeniable truth to every doctrine thus revealed unto us.

7. Although therefore it ſhould be allowed, that ſome of the miracles which Chriſt and his apoſtles wrought, might be producible by powers lower than the divine; yet ſince they who did them were moſt holy and righteous perſons, and did not teach any doctrine contrary either to the dictates of natural religion, or the revelations of God afore given unto men, and the miracles themſelves were not in ſuch mean and trivial caſes as are related of Apollonius Tyaneus, and others like him; with theſe circumſtances they ſufficiently appear to be, if not immediately from the hand of God, yet at leaſt from his miniſtering ſpirits, and their works; ſince all done in ſubſerviency to the Divine will, do as thoroughly prove a divine miſſion, wherever they evidently appear to be theirs, as thoſe of God himſelf. That Chriſt and his apoſtles were moſt holy and righteous perſons, and taught no doctrine which was in

the leaſt contrary to the dictates of natural religion, hath been afore ſhown; and how far their miracles were from being in mean and trivial matters, the works themſelves make evident: and it is as certain, that no doctrine of theirs ever contradicted in the leaſt any divine revelation afore given unto men. For Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles every where allow both the law and the prophets to be from God. Had they taught any thing which would have charged a falſehood on either, they muſt then indeed have been ſaid to contradict divine revelations afore given, and would thereby have fallen under that character and mark of falſe prophets which I have above laid down; but they were ſo far from this, that the law and the prophets were the ground-work which they founded all their doctrines upon. For the law contained in types and ſhadows, and the prophets in their prophecies and dark ſayings, whatever the Goſpel hath in ſubſtance and reality ſince clearly delivered unto us; and laid down all that in the firſt rudiments, which Chriſt and his apoſtles afterwards built up into perfection, in that holy religion which they have given unto us. And therefore, although the Goſpel hath aboliſhed the law, it was not by contradicting or condemning it, but by perfecting and fulfilling it in that manner as all the prophets foreſhowed that it ſhould.

8. But the miracles of Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles, were moſt of them undeniably ſuch as could not be produced but by the immediate hand of God himſelf, as neceſſarily requiring the creating power to effect them; and alſo of that permanency, as allowed no room for juggle or deluſion to take place in them. For what other power but that of the Almighty could raiſe a man, who had been four days dead, again to life? Or what other hand, but that of the Creator himſelf, could make him ſee, who had been without the natural organs of ſight from his very birth? Or what but the ſame power which

firſt formed man of the duſt of the earth, could reſtore him, in ſo many inſtances as our Saviour and his apoſtles did, to health and perfection, when the very parts and veſſels neceſſary thereto, were thoroughly periſhed; and in ſo miraculous a manner, with a word of their mouth, bring back total privations again to their former habits? Or what craft of Satan can reach as much as to an imitation of ſuch wonderful works as theſe, which left behind them, for many years after, effects of laſting permanency in the perſons cured, not only to be monuments of the things done, but alſo undeniable evidences of the truth and reality of them? It would be too long to go over all the miracles of this nature, which Chriſt and his holy apoſtles did for the confirmation of thoſe holy truths which they taught. Theſe already mentioned are ſufficient to ſhew, that ſome of their miracles at leaſt were ſuch as are above the powers of all created beings either to effect or imitate; and therefore theſe certainly muſt be allowed to be from God alone, without poſſibility of impoſture, deceit, or deluſion in them; and in that they are ſo, they muſt neceſſarily prove the miſſion of them, at whoſe words they were done, to be from him alſo, and conſequently become a witneſs to the truth of every doctrine delivered by them, as firm, certain, and infallible as the veracity of God himſelf, which can never err or deceive for ever. And ſo much of the fifth mark of impoſture.

SECT. VI.

VI. No impoſture, when entruſted with many conſpirators, can be long concealed. For what plot or conſpiracy have we ever known or heard of, which hath been thus managed, and hath not had ſome falſe brother or other to diſcover it; eſpecially if there be any great wickedneſs intended by it, or any great danger attending the execution of it (as moſtly is in ſuch deſigns.) For then if the thing itſelf doth not work the

conſcience into an abhorrence, the fear of the conſequence may at leaſt deter from it; and it ſeldom fails but one of theſe two, in all ſuch caſes, drives ſome or other into a diſcovery; and in this age of plots we have inſtances enough hereof. And what plot can be more wicked, than to impoſe a falſe religion upon mankind? And what can be more dangerous than to attempt it? What hath been already ſaid, ſufficiently proves both theſe particulars; and therefore, if the firſt planting of Chriſtianity were ſuch a plot, certainly one of theſe two, that is, either the wickedneſs, or the danger, would have wrought ſome or other into a diſcovery of it. For they were not a few that were admitted thereinto. They were at leaſt [t] five hundred that were in that, which you muſt call the greateſt ſecret of it; I mean the reſurrection of our Saviour from the dead; for that is the main article of our holy Chriſtian religion; the truth of which proves all the reſt, and without which all the reſt muſt have fallen to the ground, and our whole Faith become [u] vain. And therefore had but any one of theſe five hundred, who are aſſerted to have been the witneſſes of it, diſcovered the thing to have been only a conſpiracy of impoſture between them, this diſcovery muſt have laid open the whole deſign, and put a total end thereto. And were not the thing certainly true which they atteſted, it is ſcarce to be conceived but that ſome or other of them muſt have done ſo. Among the twelve apoſtles one was found a traitor to his Maſter; and how much more then may we expect that there ſhould have been one ſuch among five hundred? And eſpecially in a caſe where all ought to have been ſo; that is, to diſcover a plot againſt the ſouls of all mankind, and deliver the world from being impoſed on thereby. Among ſo many it ſcarce happens, but ſome or other prove falſe to the beſt cauſe;

[t] 1 Cor. 15. 6. [u] 1 Cor. 15. 17.

and how hard is it then to conceive, that in such a number none should be found to betray the worst? And can we call it any other than the worst, if it be such an imposture as you would have it to be? Were Christianity really such, and this doctrine of the resurrection of our Saviour totally the forgery of those who attested it, so many as five hundred could never have all kept the secret; or if they should, out of love to their own invention, or any self-ends which they might have therein, be inclined so to do; yet punishment, pain, and torture, use to extort the most hidden devices, and make the most obstinate offenders, the closest designers, and the most reserved plotters of mischief, to come to a confession. And what punishments, what pains, what tortures did those first witnesses of this main and fundamental article of our faith go through for the sake of that testimony which they did bear thereto? And yet did any one of them ever flinch from it? Did any one of them ever retract what he had attested concerning it? Prove but this, and then you will say something to make out the charge which you lay against it. But they were so far herefrom, that they all persisted in it to the last; and not only so, but were every one of them ready to shed their blood for a witness to the truth of what they asserted, and a great many of them actually did so; and all the terrors, threats, and tortures of their persecutors were not able to deter them therefrom. And what greater evidence then can there be given to any truth in the world, which depends upon matter of fact, than that which Christianity hath from the testimony of those men in so great a number and such a manner bearing witness thereto?

SECT. VII.

VII. The last mark of an imposture is, that it can never be established without force and violence. For if it hath wicked

men for its authors, worldly intereſt for its end, falſity and error for its doctrines, and receives its riſe from the craft and fraud of its firſt promoters, as I have already ſhown, the ſearch of the inquiſitive will ſoon find it out, and mankind will not long bear the impoſture, unleſs they be over-ruled by violence, and have all objections againſt it ſilenced with the ſword at their throats. This was the method which Mahomet took to eſtabliſh that falſe religion which he invented. For he proſecuted with war all that would not ſubmit thereto, and made it no leſs than death for any to gainſay it, or ſo much as raiſe the leaſt diſpute againſt any of the doctrines of it. And without his doing this, the reaſon of all mankind muſt have appeared againſt it, and it could never have ſtood. And the Romaniſts have learned from him to take the ſame courſe, as to thoſe doctrines of impoſture which they have ſuperadded to the Chriſtian religion. For they declare all thoſe to be heretics, and proſecute them with ſword, fire and faggot, that refuſe to receive them; and thus, by the power of their dragoons and their inquiſitions, they have eſtabliſhed and ſtill kept up thoſe groſs errors in their church, which neither reaſon nor religion can ever ſupport; and the ſame muſt be done as to all other falſities impoſed on mankind, before they can have any firm footing among them. For it is only force and violence that can cram ſuch things down men's throats, which their reaſon and their judgment muſt ever renounce. The unthinking multitude may for a while be carried away by the craft of the Impoſtor, and by the arts of hypocriſy and deluſion be made eaſy to ſwallow any forgery that ſhall be offered unto them; but when the heat of the firſt zeal is over, and the matter comes to be examined into by reaſon, and coolly ſcanned through by the inquiſitive, impoſture cannot ſtand the teſt, but muſt ſoon be laid open, blaſted, and exploded thereupon. And therefore, unleſs it be accompanied with force

to ſuppreſs this inquiry, and hath power on its ſide to compel men to acquieſce therein, how much ſoever it may delude men at firſt, it can never obtain any laſting eſtabliſhment among them. And this hath been the caſe of all the Impoſtors which have ever yet appeared in the world, without this power to back them; and how great progreſs ſoever any of them may have made in the firſt heat, they have all at length been detected, and exploded, and ſunk to nothing, for want of this ſupport on their ſide to keep them up. For nothing but truth can of itſelf alone ſtand the teſt of ages upon its own bottom only. Falſehood and error are too weak for ſuch a trial, and therefore unleſs ſupported by ſome external ſtrength, and fenced thereby againſt all aſſaults of oppoſers, they muſt neceſſarily fall to the ground, and again come to nothing; and where education, or the force of long-received cuſtom, is not ſtrong enough for this, (and neither can in the firſt propagating of an impoſture) there the ſword muſt come in to over-rule all, or nothing of this nature can be eſtabliſhed among men. But Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles, inſtead of making uſe of any ſuch force to eſtabliſh the religion which they taught, had all the force and powers of the world in oppoſition againſt it; and yet in ſpite of the world, it at length prevailed over the world by the dint of its own truth only; and after having ſtood the aſſault of all manner of perſecutions, as well as other oppoſitions, for three hundred years together, carried the victory over the fierceſt of its enemies, and made the greateſt of them, even the Roman emperors themſelves, to ſubmit thereto; and all this while it had ſharpened againſt it, not only the ſword of the ſuperior powers, but alſo the tongues of the ſlanderers, and the wits of all the learned of thoſe times. But how much ſoever it was oppreſſed by the firſt of theſe, blackened by the ſecond, and ſifted and ſearched into by the laſt, it ſtood all theſe trials without loſing any

thing thereby, but at laſt came out of them all, like gold out of the furnace, ſtill of the ſame weight, fineneſs, and purity, without receiving from that fire which conſumeth all things elſe, the leaſt waſte or diminution thereof. Had it been falſe, and owed its original only to deceit and impoſture, it would have needed all thoſe means of violence for its eſtabliſhment and ſupport; but ſince it thus ſtood, not only with them, but alſo in ſpite of them; when all armed on the adverſaries ſide for three centuries together, in bitter oppoſition againſt it, what greater argument can we have for the truth thereof? For can you think that falſehood and impoſture could ever have held out with ſuch ſteady and unſhaken conſtancy for ſo many years, as Chriſtianity thus did? Or that it is poſſible for any ſort of men ſo long to have borne all this for the ſake of a lie? Falſehood can have no foundation for ſuch a conſtancy, or impoſture any reaſon to engage men thereto. The intereſt of this world is ever the bottom and foundation of all ſuch forgeries; and therefore, as ſoon as puniſhments and perſecutions make it to be no man's intereſt to be for them, they ever fall of themſelves, for want of that foundation on which they afore ſtood. But Chriſtianity having come into the world contrary to all the intereſts of it, and in its very infancy thus ſtood the ſhock of all the powers thereof engaged in perſecution againſt it, as I have mentioned; and not only ſo, but alſo proſpered and became eſtabliſhed in the midſt of the hotteſt aſſaults thereof, this plainly ſhows that it had another kind of foundation on which it was built, a foundation of truth and righteouſneſs, and not only ſo, but a foundation that was laid and fixed in ſuch a manner by the hand of God himſelf, as never to be ſhaken. For what truth of itſelf alone could ever have made its way into the world in ſuch a manner as the Chriſtian religion did, or ever have gained, againſt all the powers thereof, ſuch a prevalency over it, without ſome

extraordinary aſſiſtance, conducting and helping it therein? The ſtrongeſt truths we know are cruſhed by ſuch means of violence as that encountered with, and even firſt principles themſelves have been overpowered by them. And therefore that Chriſtianity ſhould thus enter the world, and thus from its firſt entry bear up againſt ſuch long and terrible trials of perſecution and oppreſſion as it met with, without the leaſt flinching under them, muſt be owing to ſomewhat more than its own bare truth. And what but the hand of God himſelf backing and ſtrengthening it in the conflict, could be ſufficient to give it ſuch a victory therein? For that a few poor fiſhermen, the diſciples of a crucified Maſter, ſhould, without power, learning, or reputation, or any other of the intereſts or favours of the world on their ſide, be able to introduce a new religion into the world directly oppoſite to all the intereſts, pleaſures and prevailing humours of it, as Chriſtianity then was; and that this religion, in ſpite of all the powers, cunning, malice, and learning of the world joined together in moſt fierce oppoſition, and bitter perſecution againſt it for three hundred years together, ſhould not only bear up, but alſo at length prevail over the world, and ſubject the higheſt powers therein to the obedience of its laws, is an event ſo ſtrange and wonderful, and morally ſpeaking, ſo far above the poſſibility of all ordinary means to bring it to paſs, as plainly manifeſteth the extraordinary working of God himſelf therein. And for my part, had the Chriſtian religion no other miracle to bear witneſs thereto, this alone would be a miracle enough to me, ſufficiently to convince me of the truth thereof. At leaſt, ſince it thus entered into the world, and thus became eſtabliſhed in it, it muſt be allowed to be ſo far differing from an impoſture in that method of violence which that needs for its eſtabliſhment, as to be totally oppoſite thereto, and in this particular

(as I hope I have ſhown of all the reſt) not to have the leaſt mark or character thereof.

And thus far having laid before you all the obvious marks of impoſture, and proved that none of them can belong to Chriſtianity, I hope what hath been ſaid will ſufficiently infer the concluſion, which I have undertaken to make out unto you, that our holy Chriſtian religion cannot be ſuch an impoſture as you would have it to be, but really is that ſacred truth of God, which you are all bound to believe.

It is too common with mankind to frame their judgments according to their inclinations, and upon very ſlight grounds haſtily to run away with ideas of things, when they correſpond with the prevailing bent of their affections, which, whenever put into a true light before them, muſt all appear to be falſe and wrong taken. And this I reckon to be your caſe. Your inclinations ſtrongly leading you into infidelity, you would have Chriſtianity be an impoſture, and therefore have over-eaſily and haſtily been induced on very weak grounds to believe it ſo to be. And that you may be undeceived in ſo dangerous and deſtructive an error, I have endeavoured in the eaſieſt and moſt familiar manner I could think of, to put this buſineſs into a true light before you. 1. By letting you ſee what an impoſture is, in that true picture which I have drawn of it, in the life of him who was really and truly ſuch an Impoſtor as you would have Jeſus Chriſt to be. And, 2. By examining into the marks and properties which naturally belong to every ſuch impoſture, and ſhowing of each of them that they cannot belong to that holy religion which we profeſs. And I hope, when you have conſidered all this thoroughly, you will ſee how much you have been deceived in thoſe opinions which you have ſo precipitately given up yourſelves unto.

You cannot but be ſenſible how great the ſtreſs is which we lay on this matter, and how very ill your caſe muſt be, if

we are in the right, and you in the wrong; and therefore the thing is of ſufficient importance to deſerve your moſt ſerious conſideration, and that in ſuch a manner as to make you lay aſide all thoſe groundleſs prejudices and wrong biaſſes which may obſtruct an impartial inquiry; and if you will be pleaſed, for the ſake of your own ſouls, to do thus much, I am content to leave the ſucceſs of what I now offer unto you, to God's grace, and your own judgments.

As to the particular reaſons which you may allege for your diſbelief of our holy Chriſtian religion, whether they be objections drawn againſt it, either from hiſtory, philoſophy, or the inconſiſtencies which you imagine you find in the books of holy writ, in which it is delivered down unto us, it is not my purpoſe now to enter into any diſputes with you about them. That which I at preſent purpoſe, is not ſo much to conſider thoſe premiſes, as the concluſion which you pretend to draw herefrom, that Chriſtianity muſt therefore be an impoſture; and from the nature of ſuch an impoſture, and the nature of our holy Chriſtian religion laid in a true light, and compared together with each other, to evidence unto you the inconſiſtency of this charge. And if what I have now ſaid can be of any force to let you into a clear ſight of this matter, it will be totally needleſs for me to meddle any further. For all thoſe objections which you pretend to have been the particular reaſons of your infidelity, have been already abundantly anſwered and confuted by others. But the opinion which you have conceited, that Chriſtianity is an impoſture, having ſo far prepoſſeſſed your judgment, as to influence it againſt all things of this nature that can be propoſed unto you, it will be in vain to offer any thing farther as to thoſe particulars, till this prejudice be removed; and were it once removed, what hath already been ſaid in anſwer to them, will be abundantly ſufficient to give you full ſatisfaction. Although this method

may ſeem illogical, thus to aſſault the concluſion without meddling with the premiſes from which you pretend to have deduced it; yet it is no other than what you yourſelves have neceſſitated me unto, by taking up the concluſion firſt, and the premiſes afterward. Had you indeed firſt began with thoſe reaſons which you offer for your infidelity, and been really, by the conviction of them led into this concluſion, that Chriſtianity is an impoſture, it would then have been proper and fitting that I ſhould have begun there too, and no otherwiſe have endeavoured to overthrow the concluſion, but by firſt overthrowing the premiſes from whence you deduced it. But ſince it is well known that the concluſion hath been of greater force with the moſt of you, to make you aſſent to the premiſes, than the premiſes to prove the concluſion; and it is only the fond conceit you have taken up in compliance with ill company, or worſe inclinations, that Chriſtianity muſt be an impoſture, that hath made many of thoſe arguments ſeem ſo concluſive with you, which are brought to prove it; this makes it neceſſary for me to begin my endeavours for your conviction, at that ſame point where you firſt began your infidelity, and to attack the concluſion in the firſt place, before any ſucceſs can be expected towards the ſetting you right as to any thing elſe. For as long as you are wilfully bent, out of a mere fondneſs for infidelity, to hold Chriſtianity to be an impoſture, this will make every argument ſeem ſtrong to you that is brought to prove it, and every ſolution inſufficient which is given thereto, and render all means for your conviction utterly ineffectual unto you. And therefore this being in truth the firſt error which hath influenced your mind to all the reſt, this muſt be firſt removed; and if what I have ſaid can be of any force in order thereto, by letting you ſee how much you have been miſtaken herein, this I hope will remove that prejudice which hath hindered you from ſeeing the

ſtrength of thoſe arguments which have been already offered for your conviction, as to all other particulars of that infidelity which you have given up yourſelves unto, and make you clearly diſcern how much you have been miſtaken in them alſo, and thereby become the means of delivering your ſouls from that terrible danger which you expoſe them unto; the accompliſhing of which is the whole end, ſcope, and deſign of this diſcourſe which I now offer unto you.

But here perchance it may be aſked, and I think it reaſonable to give you ſatisfaction herein, why I have ſet forth unto you an impoſture by ſo foul a picture as that of Mahomet? And to this I have theſe two anſwers to return. 1. Becauſe I have none other to do it by, Mahomet being the only Impoſtor who could ever prevail ſo far as to eſtabliſh his impoſture, and make it a ſtanding religion in the world; and had it not gone ſo far, it could not have been ſuch an impoſture as you would have Chriſtianity to be, or at all fit to be compared with it in the argument now before us. And, *2dly*, How foul ſoever the picture of Mahomet may be, we have no reaſon, from the nature of the thing, ever to imagine that any other Impoſtor can have a fairer, till you bring us an inſtance thereof. And theſe two I hope may be ſufficient to clear me from acting any way unfairly in this matter, as if I had made choice of the life of ſo wicked a perſon as Mahomet, therein to picture out an impoſture unto you, only to make it appear in the fouleſt dreſs it is capable of, the better to advantage thereby that cauſe which I handle.

But to the firſt of theſe anſwers, I foreſee this objection will be made: If Mahomet be the only Impoſtor that ever eſtabliſhed his impoſture in the world, how then hath it come to paſs, that there have been ſo many falſe religions among mankind? To which I reply, not by impoſture, ſuch as Mahomet's was, and ſuch as Chriſtianity muſt be, if it be ſuch an impoſ-

ture as your charge againſt it ſuppoſeth, but by corruptions inſenſibly growing on from that religion which was firſt true. The firſt religion which God gave unto man, was that natural religion which he imprinted on his very nature, when he firſt created him; and as much of that as eſcaped that ruin with which the fall overwhelmed him, was that whereby God was worſhipped and ſerved by him afterwards; only with this addition, that whereas man in his innocency addreſſed himſelf to God immediately of himſelf alone, and in his own name, he could never after his fall from it, have any more acceſs unto him, but through a Mediator; God's infinite purity and greatneſs on the one hand, and man's infinite guilt and vileneſs on the other, after that fatal miſcarriage of our firſt parents, did put them at ſo vaſt a diſtance the one from the other, that in the nature of the thing there could be no other way thenceforth of maintaining any communion between them; and therefore had not this way been found out again to bring man to God, he muſt totally have been eſtranged from him for ever after. But God of his infinite mercy having reſolved not thus to caſt us off, he appointed us a Mediator as ſoon as we had fallen, and promiſed to ſend him in his appointed time to take our nature upon him, and therein pay down that price of redemption for us, by virtue whereof his mediation ſhould always be ſufficient to obtain mercy, and pardon, and acceptance for us. And this is that which was meant by God's promiſing immediately after the fall, that 'the ſeed of the woman ſhould break the ſerpent's head;' which being farther explained by after-revelations, the whole religion of God's people after that, was to offer up their worſhip unto him through hope in this Mediator; and all the idolatry, polytheiſm, and other falſe worſhips, which after aroſe in the heathen world, were all by ſuch corrupt deviations therefrom, as the ſuperſtitions of men, the unfaithful way of

tranſmitting divine revelations by tradition only, and the decay of all divine knowledge occaſioned thereby, in proceſs of time introduced among them. For when mankind began to increaſe after the flood, and they were taught from Noah their forefather thus to worſhip God through hope in a Mediator, as the knowledge of thoſe divine truths which he delivered to them began to decay, and ſuperſtition to increaſe among them, they began to determine themſelves to ſuch mediators as their own imaginations led them to fancy, and ſome choſe angels, and others men deceaſed, for this office, and in proceſs of time erected temples and images unto them, and honoured them with divine worſhip, in order to render them the more helpful and beneficent unto them. The Babylonians or Chaldeans, who were the firſt formed ſtate after the flood, looked on angels to have been the mediators God had appointed, through whom they were to come unto him; and for this reaſon directed their worſhip to the ſun, and moon, and the reſt of the planets, which they fancied to be the habitations [x] where thoſe angels dwelt; and alſo erected images unto them, into which they reckoned their influence and divine power did deſcend and remain with them, when thoſe luminaries themſelves were ſet and diſappeared in their horizon; ſo that their notion was to make their addreſſes through the images to the planets, and through the planets to the angels that dwelt in them, and through the angels to God himſelf, whom they acknowledged

[x] Hence Ariſtotle ſeems to have had his doctrine of the Intelligences moving the Spheres; and Plato that which he taught of the ſtars being living bodies. For it was the opinion of the ancient Chaldeans, as it is of the Sabii now, who are deſcended from them, that there was in each ſtar an angel in the ſame manner as our ſouls are in our bodies, and that the ſtars are animated by theſe angels, and hence have all their motion, and alſo that influence which they are ſuppoſed to have over this world, and for this reaſon was it that they worſhipped them.

to be the One Supreme Being, who was the Creator and Governor of all things. And this was the firſt idolatrous religion which was eſtabliſhed in the world, and long prevailed over a great part of it, and is ſtill preſerved in the Eaſt among the ſect of the Sabians even to this day. But the Perſians not liking the worſhip of the planets by images, would endure no other ſymbol to repreſent thoſe glorious luminaries by, but fire only, of which they reckoned them to be conſtituted; and therefore wherever they prevailed, they deſtroyed all images out of the temples, and placed fire in their ſtead; and from hence the *Magi* or the *worſhippers of fire* had their original. But from their having one ſymbol, they ſpeedily came to the aſſerting but of one deity repreſented by it, which they would have to be light, and that of the mixture of this and darkneſs, all things in this world were compounded; that light was the cauſe or principle of all good, and darkneſs the cauſe or principle of all evil; and therefore under the ſymbol of fire they worſhipped light as their god, but deteſted darkneſs in the ſame manner as we do the devil. And from hence Manes the heretic had his two principles, which he would have introduced into the Chriſtian religion. But above both theſe they acknowledged a Supreme God, in reſpect of whom their god light was but an inferior deity, or a god mediator, by whom they were to have acceſs unto him. And this religion obtained through all Perſia, and other parts on the eaſt of it, and doth there remain even unto this day among the Perſees in India, and the inhabitants of the province of Kerman, on the ſouthern coaſt of Perſia. But the practice of the Babylonians or Chaldeans in worſhipping their gods mediators by images, obtained in all the weſtern parts of the world. For they holding, that they were to have acceſs to God through angels as their mediators, and to the angels through the planets, and to the planets through the images which they erected

to them, did give to thoſe images the names of the planets, and under thoſe names paid divine worſhip unto them; which idolatry paſſing from Babylon or Chaldea into Arabia, and from thence to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, was by them carried into Greece, and from thence ſpread itſelf into all parts on this Weſtern ſide of the world, as that of the Magi did on the Eaſtern. For the chief gods of the Greeks, as well as the names by which they were called, came from the Egyptians and Phœnicians, and were no more than the images by which the Babylonians worſhipped the ſun, moon, and other planets, with the names of thoſe planets given unto them. Afterward indeed they added to their number other deities alſo, which were originally either ſome of the fixed ſtars, or elſe the ſouls of men departed, as of Bel or Belus among the Babylonians, Abraham and Iſmael among the Arabians, Orus and Oſiris among the Egyptians, Æſculapius and Hercules among the Greeks, and Romulus or Quirinus among the Romans. For it early began a cuſtom among all the worſhippers of images, as well Greeks as barbarians, to deify men departed; reckoning thoſe who lived juſtly and righteouſly, or had made themſelves eminent by any great and worthy actions in this life, to have thoſe habitations allotted them in the heavens above, where they were in a capacity to be mediators to God for them; and therefore they offered divine worſhip to them as ſuch. And this was it that gave occaſion to ſo many apotheoſes or deifications among them, and ſo vaſtly encreaſed the number of their gods in all the idolatrous parts of the world, and alſo the various methods of ſuperſtition, whereby they paid their worſhip unto them. Yet they all ſtill held to their notion of One Supreme God, and reckoned all the others to be no more than gods mediators under him. And this One God, whom they held to be made of none, and to be the maker or father of all things elſe that are, was among the

Chaldeans of old (as ſtill among the Sabians, who are the remainder of them) called *Deus Deorum*, and among the Arabs, *Allah Taal*, i. e. *the High or Supreme God*; and agreeable hereto, among the Greeks, was there alſo their πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, *One Supreme God, who was the Father both of gods and men.* And thus far in anſwer to your queſtion, have I given you an account how all the falſe religions in the heathen world had their original; and herein I have been the longer, for the ſake of two reflections which are obvious for you to make hereon.

1ſt, That the notion of a Mediator between God and man, was that which did run through all the religions that ever were in the world, to the coming of Jeſus Chriſt, and was the fundamental principle which prevailed in every one of them, as to all the worſhip which was practiſed in them; which could no otherwiſe become ſo univerſal among mankind, but by a tradition as univerſally delivered unto them. And what can better account both for this tradition, and alſo the univerſality of it, than what is delivered unto us in Scripture, of our being deſcended from one common parent, who on his fall from the favour of God, having had this promiſe of a Mediator made unto him, through whom we might be again reconciled unto him, tranſmitted it to all his poſterity.

2dly, That the miſtakes and errors about the worſhip of God, and the ſervice we owe unto him, which men are apt to run into, when left to the conduct of their own light only, are monſtrous and endleſs, and therefore evidently demonſtrate the neceſſity of divine revelations. For if God doth expect from us an account of our actions, it is neceſſary he ſhould give us a law for the rule of them; and if the law of our reaſon alone be inſufficient for this (as from the continual errors and endleſs abſurdities which mankind, when left to themſelves, have ever hitherto run into, it doth evidently ap-

pear that it is:) This demonſtrably proves the neceſſity of another to ſupply its defect, and that in our caſe we muſt have a revealed religion as well as a natural, or elſe we can have no certain knowledge of the will of God, or any of thoſe duties of worſhip and ſervice which we are to perform towards him. And if this proves the neceſſity of ſuch a revealed religion (as I think it undeniably muſt, to every one that believes God will account with us for what we do;) all that I have farther to offer, is, that you would thoroughly examine and conſider that holy Chriſtian religion which we profeſs, and compare it with all the other religions that are in the world; and if it does not appear vaſtly above them all, the worthieſt of God for him to give unto us, and the worthieſt of us to obſerve, and that not only in reſpect of the honour given to him, but alſo of the improvement and perfection brought to our own nature thereby, I will be content that you ſhall then perſiſt to believe it an impoſture, and, as ſuch, reject it for ever.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

AUTHORS

QUOTED IN THIS BOOK.

ARABIC AUTHORS.

ABUL FARAGHIUS, a phyſician of Malatia in Leſſer Armenia, of the Chriſtian religion, and of the ſect of the Jacobites. He is an author of eminent note in the Eaſt, as well among Mahometans as Chriſtians. His Hiſtory of the Dynaſties is from the creation of the world to the year of our Lord 1284. It was publiſhed at Oxford with a Latin verſion by Dr. Pocock, A. D. 1663. He flouriſhed about the time where his hiſtory ends. His name at length is Gregorius Ebn Hacim Abul Faraghi.

Abul Feda, an author of great repute in the Eaſt for two books which he wrote: the firſt, a general Geography of the world, after the method of Ptolemy; and the other, a general Hiſtory, which he calls the Epitome of the Hiſtory of Nations. He was born A. D. 1273. He finiſhed his Geography, A. D. 1321: twenty years after that he was advanced to the principality of Hamah in Syria, from whence he is commonly called Shahab Hamah, *i. e.* prince of Hamah, where after having reigned three years, two months, and thirteen

days, he died, A. D. 1345. being ſeventy-two years old. He was by nation a Turk, of the noble family of the Jobidæ, of which was Saladin the famous Sultan of Egypt. His name at length is Iſmael Ebn Ali Al Melec al Moaiyad Amaddodin Abul Feda. Ecchelenſis quotes him by the name of Iſmael Shiahinſhiah.

Abunazar, a Legendary writer of the Mahometans, much quoted by Hottinger.

Agar, a book of great authority among the Mahometans, ſaith Guadagnol, (page 165.) wherein an account is given of the life and death of Mahomet. Joannes Andreas makes great uſe of it under the name of Azaer, as doth Bellonius in the third book of his Obſervations under the name of Aſaer. Guadagnol who had a copy of the book, calls it the book Agar, and takes moſt of what he objects againſt the life and actions of Mahomet out of it.

Ahmed Ebn Edris, an author that writes in the defence of the Mahometan religion againſt the Chriſtians and the Jews.

Ahmed Ebn Yuſeph, an hiſtorian who flouriſhed A. D. 1599. for then he finiſhed his hiſtory.

Ahmed Ebn Zin Alabedin, a nobleman of Hiſpahan in Perſia, of this laſt age, who hath wrote the ſharpeſt and acuteſt book againſt the Chriſtian religion, in defence of the Mahometan, of any they have among them on this argument. It was publiſhed on this occaſion. Ecbar, the Great Mogul, great grandfather to Aurang Zeb, who at preſent reigneth in India, for ſome reaſons of ſtate, making ſhow of encouraging the Chriſtian religion, did in the year 1595, write to Matthias de Albuquerque, then viceroy of the Portugueſe in India, for ſome prieſts to be ſent to him to his court at Agra. The perſons pitched upon for this miſſion, were Jeronimo Xavier, then rector of the college of the Jeſuits at Goa, and Emanuel Pigneiro, and Benedict de Gois, two others of that ſociety.

On their coming to Agra, they were very kindly received by the Mogul, and had a church there built for them at his charges, and many privileges and immunities granted unto them, which on the death of Ecbar (which happened A. D. 1604.) were all confirmed to them by his ſucceſſor Jehan Guire. At the command of this Ecbar, Xaverius wrote two books in Perſian (which is the language of that court;) the firſt, the Hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt, collected for the moſt part out of the Legends of the Church of Rome, which he intended to be inſtead of the Goſpel among them; and the other called, A Looking-Glaſs, ſhewing the Truth, which is a defence of the doctrines of that goſpel againſt the Mahometans. What the former is, thoſe who have the curioſity to ſee what kind of goſpel the Jeſuits preach in the Eaſt, may ſatisfy themſelves, for the book is tranſlated into Latin by De Dieu, and was publiſhed by him with the original, A. D. 1639. This goſpel of the Jeſuits was firſt preſented to Ecbar by Xaverius at Agra, A. D. 1602. But the other book was not publiſhed till a year or two after. When it firſt came abroad, it unluckily fell into the hands of this learned Perſian gentleman, who immediately wrote an anſwer to it, which he calls, The Bruſher of the Looking-Glaſs, wherein he makes terrible work with the Jeſuit, through the advantages which he gave him by teaching the idolatry and other ſuperſtitions and errors of the church of Rome, for the doctrines of Jeſus Chriſt. When this book came abroad, it ſo alarmed the college de propaganda fide at Rome, that they immediately ordered it to be anſwered. The firſt who was appointed for this work was Bonaventura Malvaſia, a Franciſcan friar of Bononia, who publiſhed his Dilucidatio Speculi verum monſtrantis, in anſwer to this Bruſher, A. D. 1628. But this, I ſuppoſe, not being judged ſo ſufficient by the college, they appointed Philip Guadagnol, another Franciſcan friar, to

write a ſecond anſwer thereto. And on this occaſion he compoſed his book ſtiled, Apologia pro Chriſtiana Religione, which was publiſhed at Rome firſt in Latin, A. D. 1631, and after in Arabic, 1637. For this, I ſuppoſe, meeting with better approbation from the college, they ordered it to be tranſlated into that language; and it being accordingly done by the ſame author, they ſent it into the Eaſt to be diſperſed among the Mahometans, for the defence of the Jeſuits Looking-Glaſs againſt this rude Bruſher of it. But his performance doth by no means anſwer the deſign, abundance of his arguments being drawn from the authorities of popes and councils, which will never convince an infidel of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, how much noiſe ſoever they may make with them among thoſe of their own communion.

Al Bochari, an eminent writer of the traditionary doctrines of the Mahometan religion. He is reckoned by Johannes Andreas, c. 3. and Bellonius, lib. 3. c. 4. to be one of the ſix doctors, who, by the appointment of one of the Califs, meeting at Damaſcus, firſt made an authentic collection of all thoſe traditions which make up their Sonnah. His book contains the pandects of all that relates either to their law or their religion, digeſted under their ſeveral titles in thirty books, and is the ancienteſt and moſt authentic which they have of this matter, and, next the Alcoran, of the greateſt authority among them. He was born at Bochara in Cowaraſmia, A. D. 809. and died A. D. 869.

Al Coran, *i. e.* The Book to be read, or the Legend, it is the Bible of the Mahometans. The name is borrowed from the Hebrew Kara or Mikra (words of the ſame root as well as ſignification, with the Arabic Al Coran) by which the Jews called the Old Teſtament, or any part of it; and ſo any part of the Mahometan Bible is called Alcoran. The whole together they call Al Moſhap, *i. e.* The Book, which alſo in reſpect

of the chapters, into which it is divided, they call Al Furkan, from the Arabic word Faraka, from which the Hebrew Pharak ſignifies to divide or diſtinguiſh; but others will have that book to be ſo called in reſpect of the matter or doctrine therein contained; becauſe, ſay they, it diſtinguiſheth good from evil.

It hath been lately publiſhed in Arabic, with a large preface before it in Latin, by Abraham Hinckleman, at Hamburg, A. D. 1694. Had he added a Latin verſion, he would have made it much more uſeful. For that which hath been publiſhed by Bibliander for a Latin verſion of the Alcoran, is only an abſurd epitome of it, compoſed by Robertus Retinenſis, near 600 years ago, whereby the ſenſe of the original is ſo ill repreſented, that no one can by the one ſcarce any where underſtand what is truly meant by the other. In the year 1647, Andrew du Ryer, who had been agent for the French merchants at Alexandria, publiſhed a tranſlation of it in French, from which it had been put into Engliſh by Alexander Roſſe. Hottinger and Plempius much commend this tranſlation, and, indeed, it muſt be ſaid that it is done as well as can be expected from one who was only a merchant.

Al Fragani, an aſtronomer of Fragana in Perſia, from whence his name Al Fragani, *i. e.* Fraganenſis, by which he is commonly called. His name at length is Mohammed Ebn Katir Al Fragani. He wrote a book called, The Elements of Aſtronomy, which hath been ſeveral times publiſhed in Europe, at Neurenburg, A. D. 1537, at Paris, A. D. 1546, at Frankfort, cum Notis Chriſtmanni, A. D. 1590, in Latin; and afterwards by Golius in Arabic and Latin at Leyden, A. D. 1669, with large notes, of great uſe for the underſtanding of the geography of the Eaſt. He flouriſhed while Al Mamon was Calif, who died A. D. 833.

Al Gazali, a famous philoſopher of Tuſa in Perſia. He wrote many books, not only in philoſophy, but alſo in defence

of the Mahometan religion againſt Chriſtians, Jews, Pagans, and all others that differ therefrom, whereof one is of more eſpecial note, entitled, The Deſtruction of Philoſophers, which he wrote againſt Al Farabius, and Avicenna, and ſome others of the Arab philoſophers; who, to ſolve the monſtrous abſurdities of the Mahometan religion, were for turning many things into figure and allegory, which were commonly underſtood in the literal ſenſe. Thoſe he violently oppoſeth on this account, accuſing them of hereſy and infidelity, as corrupters of the faith, and ſubverters of religion, whereon he had the name of Hoghatol Eſlam Zainoddin, *i. e.* The Demonſtration of Mahometiſm, and the Honour of Religion. He was born A. D. 1058, and died A. D. 1112. His name at length is Abu Hammed Ebn Mohammed Al Gazali Al Tuſi.

Al Jannabi, an hiſtorian born at Jannaba, a city in Perſia, not far from Shiras. His hiſtory comes down to the year of our Lord 1588, and therein he tells us that he went in pilgrimage to Mecca, and from thence to Medina, to pay his devotions at the tomb of the Impoſtor, in that year of the Hegira which anſwers to the year of our Lord 1556. His name at length is Abu Mohammed Muſtapha Ebnol Saiyed Haſan Al Jannabi.

Al Kamus, *i. e.* The Ocean, a famous Arabic dictionary ſo called, becauſe of the ocean of words contained in it. It was written by Mohammed Ebn Jaacub Ebn Mohammed Al Shirazi Al Firauzabadi. He was a perſon of great eſteem among the princes of his time, for his eminent learning and worth, particularly with Iſmael Ebn Abbas, king of Yaman, Bajazet king of the Turks, and Tamerlane the Tartar, from the laſt of which he received a gift of five thouſand pieces of gold at one time. He was born A. D. 1328, being a Perſian by birth, but he lived moſt at Sanaa in Yaman. He finiſhed his dic-

tionary at Mecca, and dedicated it to Iſmael Ebn Abbas, under whoſe patronage he had long lived, and afterwards died at Zibit in Arabia, A. D. 1414, being near ninety years old.

Al Kodai, an hiſtorian. He wrote his hiſtory about the year of our Lord 1045, and died A. D. 1062. His name at length is Abu Abdolla Mohammed Ebn Salamah Ebn Jaafar Al Kodai.

Al Maſudi, an hiſtorian. He wrote a hiſtory called the Golden Meadows, but in what time he lived I do not find. His name at length is Ali Ebn Hoſain Al Maſudi. He wrote alſo another book, wherein he makes it his buſineſs to diſcover and expoſe the fraud which the Chriſtians of Jeruſalem are guilty of, about lighting candles at the ſepulchre of our Saviour on Eaſter-Eve. For then three lamps being placed within the chapel of the ſepulchre, when the hymn of the reſurrection is ſung at the evening ſervice, they contrive that theſe three lamps be all lighted, which they will have believed to be by fire from heaven, [a] and then a multitude of Chriſtians of all nations are preſent with candles to light them at this holy fire, which hath been a fraudulent practice kept up among them for many hundred years. And the Emperor Cantacuzenus was ſo far impoſed on by this cheat, that in his third Apology for the Chriſtian religion againſt the Mahometans, he makes mention of it, and urgeth it againſt thoſe infidels, as a miracle, which being annually performed in their ſight, ought to convince them of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, and convert them thereto. But the impoſture hath all along been too well known to the Mahometans to be of any ſuch effect with them. For the patriarch of Jeruſalem always compounds with the Mahometan governor to permit

[a] Vide W. Malmsburienſem de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. 4. c. 2. f. 79, & f. 83.

him to practice this trick for the ſake of the gain which it brings to his church, and annually allows him his ſhare in it. And therefore, inſtead of being of any effect to convert them, it becomes a matter of continual ſcandal among them againſt the Chriſtian religion. And not only this author, but Ahmed Ebn Edris, and moſt others of the Mahometans, that write againſt the Chriſtian religion, object it as a reproach thereto (as in truth it is) and urge it with the ſame earneſtneſs againſt the Chriſtian religion, that Cantacuzenus doth for it. Al Manſor Hakem Beamrilla, Calif of Egypt, was ſo offended at it, that A. D. 1007, he ordered the church of the reſurrection at Jeruſalem, wherein this chapel of the ſepulchre ſtands, to be for this very reaſon pulled down and razed to the ground, that he might thereby put an end to ſo infamous a cheat. But the emperor of Conſtantinople having by the releaſe of five thouſand Mahometan captives, obtained leave to have it rebuilt again, the impoſture hath ſtill gone on at the ſame rate, and it is there, to the great ſport of the Mahometans (who come in multitudes every year to ſee this farce) acted over in their ſight in the ſame manner as it is above related even unto this day. Thevenot, who was once preſent at it, gives us a large account of this whole foolery in the firſt part of his Travels, book 2. chap. 43.

Al Moſtrataf, the name of a book, written by an unknown author.

Al Motarrezi, the author of the book called Mogreb, he was born A. D. 1143, and died A. D. 1213. His name at length is Naſir Ebn Abil Macarem Abal Phatah Al Motarrezi. He was of the ſect of the Motazali, and ſeems by his laſt name, Al Motarrezi, (by which he is uſually called) to have been by trade a tailor, that being the ſignification of the word in Arabic.

Aſſamael, a book much quoted by Johannes Andreas, and alſo by Guadagnol.

Bidawi, a famous commentator on the Alcoran. He died A. D. 1293. His name at length is Naſeroddin Abdollah Ebn Omar Al Bidawi. His commentary is written for the moſt part out of Zamachſhari.

Kazwini, an Arabic author, ſo called from the city Kaſwin. His name at length is Zacharias Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mahmud Al Kaſwini. In what age he lived I cannot find.

Dialogus Mahometis cum Abdollah Ebn Salem, a book wrote in Arabic, containing a great many of the fooleries of the Mahometan religion, under the form of a dialogue between Mahomet and this Jew, who was his chief helper in forging the impoſture. It was tranſlated into Latin by Hermannus Dalmata; and that verſion of it is publiſhed at the end of the Latin Alcoran ſet forth by Bibliander.

Diſputatio Chriſtiani contra Saracenum de Lege Mahometis. It was written in Arabic by a Chriſtian, who was an officer in the court of a king of the Saracens, to a Mahometan friend of his, who was an officer with him in the ſame court, and contains a Confutation of the Mahometan religion. Peter, the famous abbot of Cluny in Burgundy, who flouriſhed A. D. 1130, cauſed it to be tranſlated into Latin by Peter of Toledo; an epitome of which is printed with the Latin Alcoran by Bibliander, taken out of the 24th book of the Speculum Hiſtoriale of Vincentius Bellovacenſis.

Elmacinus, an hiſtorian of the Chriſtian religion. His hiſtory is from the creation of the world to the year of our Lord 1118. The latter part of it, which is from the beginning of Mahometiſm, was publiſhed by Erpenius, under the title of Hiſtoria Saracenica, A. D. 1625. He was ſon to Yaſer Al Amid, who was ſecretary of the council of war under the Sultans of Egypt, of the family of the Jobidæ, for 45 years together, and in the year of our Lord 1238, (in which his father died) ſucceeded him in his place. His name at length is

Georgius Ebn Amid; and for his eminent learning he was alſo ſtiled Al Shaich Al Raais Al Macin, *i. e.* The prime Doctor, ſolidly learned. The laſt of which titles, Almacin, was that whereby Erpenius (who pronounceth it Elmacin) choſe to call him; but by others he is generally quoted by the name Ebn Amid.

Ebnol Athir, a Mahometan author, who was born A. D. 1149, and died A. D. 1209. His name at length is Abuſſaadat Al Moharac Ebn Mohammed Al Shaibani Ebnol Athir Al Jazari Magdoddin.

Ali Ebnol Athir, an hiſtorian, brother to the former Ebnol Athir. His name at length is Abul Haſan Ali Ebn Mohammed Al Shaibani Ebnol Athir Al Jazari Ezzoddin. He was born A. D. 1160, and died A. D. 1232. His hiſtory, which he calls Camel, is from the beginning of the world, to the year of our Lord 1230.

Ebnol Kaſſai, author of the book called Taarifat, which is an explication of the various terms uſed in Arabic by philoſophers, lawyers, divines, and other ſorts of learned profeſſions among them.

Ebn Phares, a Mahometan author, who died A. D. 1000.

Eutychius, a Chriſtian author of the ſect of the Melchites, his name in Arabic is Said Ebn Batrick. He was born at Cair in Egypt, A. D. 876, and became very eminent in the knowledge of phyſic, which he practiſed with great reputation, being reckoned by the Mahometans themſelves to have been one of the eminenteſt phyſicians of his time. But towards the latter part of his life giving himſelf more to the ſtudy of divinity, he was A. D. 933, choſen patriarch of Alexandria for his ſect, (for there was another patriarch of that place for the Jacobites at the ſame time) and then he firſt took the name of Eutychius. But he happened not to be ſo acceptable to his people; for there were continual jars between them until his death,

which happened ſeven years after, A. D. 940. His Annals of the Church of Alexandria were publiſhed at Oxford in Arabic and Latin by Dr. Pocock, A. D. 1656, at the charge of Mr. Selden, and this is the meaning of theſe words in the title-page, [*Johanne Seldeno Chorago*] for he who was the Choragus in the play, always was at the charges of exhibiting the ſcenes. And therefore Mr. Selden having borne the expences of this chargeable edition, the moſt worthy and learned author of that verſion acknowledged it by thoſe words in the title-page, which ſeveral having miſtaken to the robbing him of the honour of his work, as if Mr. Selden had begun the tranſlation and Dr. Pocock finiſhed it, I cannot but do this juſtice to that worthy perſon, now with God, to clear this matter. For he needed no partner in any of his works. The tranſlation was totally his, and only the charges of printing the book Mr. Selden's. Mr. Selden did indeed publiſh a leaf or two of that author, which he thought would ſerve his purpoſe to expreſs his ſpite againſt the biſhops of the church of England, in revenge of the cenſure which was inflicted on him in the high commiſſion court for his Hiſtory of Tythes; but he made thoſe ſlips in that verſion, that Dr. Pocock was not at all eaſed of his labour, by having that little part of it tranſlated to his hands.

Liber de Generatione & Nutritura Mahometis, a moſt frivolous and ſilly tract, wrote originally in Arabic; and being tranſlated into Latin by Hermannus Dalmata, is publiſhed with the Latin Alcoran by Bibliander.

Geographia Nubienſis, ſo the book is called by Sionita and Heſronita, who publiſhed it in Latin with a Geographical Appendix annexed thereto, A. D. 1619. But this book is only an epitome of a much larger and much better book written by Sharif Al. Adriſi, at the command of Roger, the ſecond of that name, king of Sicily, for the explaining of a ter-

reſtrial globe, which that king had cauſed to be made of a very large ſize, all of ſilver. He finiſhed this work A. D. 1153, and entitled it Ketab Roger, *i. e.* 'the Book of Roger,' from the name of him who employed him to compoſe it. The author was of the race of Mahomet, and therefore is called Sharif, which word ſignifieth one of a noble race, eſpecially that of Mahomet, and was deſcended from the noble family of the Adriſidæ, who reigned in ſome parts of Africa, and therefore he is called Al Adriſi, that is, of the family of Adris. His name at length is Abu Abdollah Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Adris Amir Olmuminin. There was a very fair copy of this book among Dr. Pocock's Arabic manuſcripts.

Georgius Monachus, abbot of the monaſtery of St. Simeon. He wrote a tract in defence of the Chriſtian religion againſt the Mahometans, which is a diſputation he had with three Mahometans, of whom the chief ſpokeſman was Abſulama Ebn Saar of Moſul.

Jauhari, the author of a famous Arabic dictionary, called Al Sahah: his name at length is Abu Naſer Iſmael Ebn Hammad Al Jauhari. He was by nation a Turk. He died A. D. 1007. This is reckoned the beſt dictionary of the Arabic language next Kamus. Golius makes his Arabic Lexicon moſtly out of it.

Jalalani, *i. e.* 'the Two Jalals.' They were two of the ſame name, who wrote a ſhort commentary upon the Alcoran, the firſt began it, and the ſecond finiſhed it. The firſt was called Jabal Oddin Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Mahalli; and the ſecond Jalal Oddin Abdorrahman Al Oſynti. This latter, on the death of the former, finiſhed the book, A. D. 1466, and was alſo author of a hiſtory called Mezhar.

Shahreſthani, a ſcholaſtical writer of the Mahometan reli-

gion. He was born at Shahreſtan, A. D. 1074, and died A. D. 1154.

Safioddin, the author of a certain geographical dictionary in the Arabic tongue.

Zamacſhari, the author of a book called, Al Cheſhaf, which is a large commentary upon the Alcoran, and that which is of the beſt eſteem among the Mahometans of any of its kind. His name at length is Abul Caſem Mohammed Ebn Omar Ebn Mohammed Al Chowaraſmi Al Zamachſhari. He was born at Zamachſhar, a town of Chowaraſmia, A. D. 1074, and died A. D. 1143.

HEBREW AND CHALDEE AUTHORS.

CHALDEE Paraphraſe, an interpretation of the Old Teſtament in the Chaldee language. That of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, and that of Jonathan on the prophets, are ancient, being written, according to the account which the Jews give of them, before the time of our Saviour. But thoſe which are on the other parts of ſcripture, as alſo that which bears the name of Jonathan on the Law, were written by ſome later Jews. The author of the Chaldee Paraphraſe on Job, the Pſalms and Proverbs, was Rabbi Joſeph Cæcus.

Sepher Cozri, a book written by way of dialogue between a Jew and the king of the Cozars, from whence it hath its name Sepher Cozri or Cozari, *i. e.* 'the Book of the Cozar.' The author of it was Rabbi Judah Levita, a Spaniſh Jew, who wrote the book originally in Arabic about the year of our Lord 1140, and from thence it was tranſlated into Hebrew by Rabbi Judah Ebn Tibbon, in which tranſlation it was publiſhed by Buxtorf, with a Latin verſion, A. D. 1660.

Rabbi David Kimchi, a famous Jewiſh commentator on the

Old Teſtament. He was by birth a Spaniard, ſon to Rabbi Joſeph Kimchi, and brother to Rabbi Moſes Kimchi, both men of eminent learning among the Jews; but he himſelf far exceeded them both, being the beſt grammarian in the Hebrew language which they ever had, as is abundantly made appear not only in his commentary on the Old Teſtament (which gives the greateſt light into the literal ſenſe of the Hebrew text of any extant of this kind) but alſo in a grammar and dictionary which he hath wrote of the Hebrew language, both by many degrees the beſt of their kind: the firſt of theſe he calls Miclol, and the other Sepher Shoraſhim, *i. e.* 'the Book of Roots.' Buxtorf made his Theſaurus Linguæ Hebrææ out of the former, and his Lexicon Linguæ Hebrææ out of the latter. He flouriſhed about the year of our Lord 1270.

Maimonides, a famous Jewiſh writer; his book, Yad Hachazakah, is a digeſt of the Jewiſh law according to the Talmudiſts. His book Moreh Nevochim contains an explication of words, phraſes, metaphors, parables, allegories, and other difficulties which occur in the Old Teſtament. It was firſt wrote in Arabic, and after tranſlated into Hebrew by Rabbi Samuel Ebn Judah Ebn Tibbon, from which tranſlation it was publiſhed in Latin by Buxtorf, A. D. 1629. He was born at Corduba in Spain, A. D. 1131, but lived moſtly in Egypt, from whence he is commonly called Rabbi Moſes Ægyptius, where he died A. D. 1208.

Miſhnah, a collection of all the ancient traditions of the Jews, to the time of Rabbi Judah Hakkodiſh, the compiler of it, who flouriſhed about the middle of the ſecond century, in the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. This book is the text to the Talmud, and that a comment on it. The Jeruſalem Talmud was compiled by the Jews who dwelt in Judæa, about 300 years after Chriſt; and the Babyloniſh Talmud by

thoſe who dwelt in Meſopotamia, about 500 years after Chriſt, according to the account which the Jewiſh writers give of them. But there are ſeveral things contained in the latter, which ſeem to refer to a much later date. Theſe three, with the two Chaldee paraphraſes of Onkelos and Jonathan, are the ancienteſt books which the Jews have, next the Bible. For how much noiſe ſoever may be made about their Rabbinical writers, there are none of them above ſeven hundred years old. There are ſome of them indeed lay claim to a much ancienter date, but without any reaſon for it.

GREEK AUTHORS.

ARISTOTELIS Ethica and Politica.

Bartholomæi Edeſſeni Confutatio Hagareni, a Greek tract againſt Mahometiſm, publiſhed by Le Moyne among his Varia Sacra. The author was a monk of Edeſſa in Meſopotamia. In what age he lived doth not appear.

Cantacuzenus contra Sectam Mahometicam. This book contains four apologies for the Chriſtian religion, and four orations againſt the Mahometan. The author had been emperor of Conſtantinople, but reſigning his empire to John Palæologus his ſon-in-law, A. D. 1355, he retired into a monaſtery, where being accompanied by Meletius, formerly called Achæmemid, whom he had converted from Mahometiſm to the Chriſtian religion, he there wrote this book for the ſaid Meletius, in anſwer to a letter written to him by Sampſates, a Perſian of Hiſpahan, to reduce him back again to the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Cedreni Compendium Hiſtoriarum, an Hiſtory from the beginning of the world, to the year of our Lord 1057.

Chryſoſtomi Homiliæ.

Confutatio Mahometis, a Greek tract, publiſhed by Le Moye among his Varia Sacra; the author not known.

Dionyſii Halicarnaſſei Antiquitates Romane.

Euſebii Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica, and Præparatio Evangelica.

Hierocles, the Fomenter and chief manager of the tenth perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. He was firſt governor of Bithynia, and after of Egypt, in both which places he perſecuted the Chriſtians with the utmoſt ſeverity; and not content herewith, he alſo wrote two books againſt them, which he called Λόγοι φιλαλήθεις, wherein, among other things, he compared Apollonius Tyaneus with Jeſus Chriſt, and endeavoured to prove him, in working of miracles to have been equal to him; to which particular Euſebius wrote an anſwer, which is ſtill extant among his works; but theſe books of Hierocles are now wholly loſt, excepting ſome fragments preſerved in the ſaid anſwer of Euſebius.

Joſephi Antiquitates Judaciæ, and de Bello Judaico.

Origenes contra Celſum.

Philoſtratus de Vita Apollonii Tyanei.

Phlegon Trallianus, a freed man of Adrian the Emperor. He wrote a Chronicon or hiſtory, which he called the hiſtory of the Olmypiads. It contained 229 Olympiads, whereof the laſt ended in the fourth year of the Emperor Antonius Pius. But there is nothing of this work now extant, except ſome few fragments, as they are now preſerved in ſuch authors as have quoted it. That relating to the eclipſe of the ſun at our Saviour's crucifixion is preſerved in Euſebius' Chronicon, and is alſo made mention of by Origen, in his 35th tract on St. Matthew's goſpel, and in his ſecond book againſt Celſus.

Plato.

Plutarchi Vitæ.

Strabonis Geographia.

Socratis Scholaſtici Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica.

Sozomeni Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica.

Theophanis Chronographia; this is one of the Byzantine hiſtorians, and contains a Chronological Hiſtory of the Roman Empire, from the year of our Lord 285 to the year 813. The author was a nobleman of Conſtantinople, where he was firſt an officer of the Imperial court, but afterwards turning monk wrote this hiſtory. He was born A. D. 758, and A. D. 815 died in priſon in the iſland of Samothracia, a martyr for image-worſhip, for which he had been a zealous champion in the ſecond council of Nice.

Zonaræ Compendium Hiſtoriarum. Another of the Byzantine hiſtorians. It contains an hiſtory from the beginning of the world to the death of Alexius Comnenus, emperor of Conſtantinople; which happened A. D. 1118, when the author flouriſhed. He was firſt a prime officer of the Imperial court at Conſtantinople; but afterwards became an Eccleſiaſtick, and is the ſame who wrote the Comment on the Greek Canons.

LATIN AUTHORS ANCIENT AND MODERN.

Ammiani Marcellini Hiſtoria.

Anaſtaſii Bibliothecarii Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica. The author was a prieſt of the church of Rome, and library-keeper to the Pope. He flouriſhed about the year of our Lord 870.

Bellonii Obſervationes de Locis ac Rebus Memorabilibus in Aſia. This book was firſt publiſhed in French, A. D. 1553, and after in Latin, A. D. 1589.

Bocharti Hierozoicon.

Buſbequii Epiſtolæ; the author was ambaſſador from the Emperor Ferdinand the Firſt to the Porte, from whence he wrote his epiſtles.

Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum.

Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica.

Caroli a Sancto Paulo Geographia ſacra, ſive Notitia antiqua Epiſcopatuum Eccleſiæ Univerſæ. Lutetiæ Pariſiorum, A. D. 1641.

Elenardi Epiſtolæ. The author of theſe epiſtles was the moſt famous grammarian of his age. Out of love to the Arabic tongue, he went to Fez, on purpoſe to learn it, A. D. 1540, when well advanced in years, from whence he wrote many things in his epiſtles, of the manners and religion of the Mahometans. He died at Granada in Spain as ſoon as he returned.

Cuſani Cribratio Alcorani. The author of this book was the famous Nicolas de Cuſa, the eminenteſt ſcholar of the age in which he lived. In the year 1448 he was made cardinal of Rome, by the title of St. Peter's ad Vincula, and died A. D. 1464, about ten years after the Turks had taken Conſtantinople. Which ſeems to have given him the occaſion of writing this book, that ſo he might provide an antidote againſt that falſe religion, which on that ſucceſs had gotten ſo great an advantage for its farther ſpreading itſelf in thoſe parts of the world. For it appears by the dedication, that this book was not written till after the loſs of that city; it being dedicated to Pope Pius Secundus, who entered not on the papacy till the Turks had been about three years in poſſeſſion of it.

Abrahami Ecchellenſis Hiſtoria Arabum. This book is ſubjoined to his Chronicon Orientale, in two parts, collected out of the Arab writers. The author was a Maronite, of mount Libanus in Syria, and was employed as profeſſor of the Oriental languages in the college de propaganda Fide at Rome, from whence about the year 1640, he was called to Paris, to aſſiſt in preparing the great Polyglott Bible for the preſs, which was there publiſhing, and made the king's profeſſor of

the Oriental languages in that city. The part aſſigned him in this work, was that which they had before employed Sionita in, a man of thorough abilities to perform it; but on ſome diſtaſte taken againſt him, they diſcharged him, and ſent to Rome for Ecchellenſis; of whoſe performance herein a learned Sorboniſt making a cenſure, truly ſays, 'Ibi peccatum eſt to-'ties ac tam enormiter in apponendis vocalibus & apiculis, ut 'quod ibi primum inter legendum occurrerit, ſummam ſapere 'videatur Tyronis alicujus oſcitantiam.' He was indeed a man but of little accuracy in the learning which he profeſſed, and ſhews himſelf to be a very futilous and injudicious writer, in moſt of that which he hath publiſhed.

Abrahami Ecchellenſis Eutychius vindicatus; which book is in two parts; the firſt written againſt Mr. Selden's Eutychii Patriarchæ Alexandrini Eccleſiæ ſuæ Origines; and the ſecond againſt Hottinger's Hiſtoria Orientalis. The greateſt ſkill which he ſhews in this book, is in railing. It was publiſhed at Rome A. D. 1661.

Forbeſii Inſtructiones Hiſtorico Theologicæ, publiſhed at Amſterdam, 1645.

Fortalitium Fidei, a book written in defence of the Chriſtian religion againſt the Jews, Mahometans, and other adverſaries. The author takes occaſion to acquaint us, Lib. 2. Conſideratione 6. Hæreſ. 5. that he was at work in writing this book A. D. 1458; and the title of the firſt printed edition tells us, that it was finiſhed the year following, and that the author was an eminent doctor of the order of the Franciſcan friars. It was printed firſt at Nuremberg, A. D. 1494, and after that at Lyons, A. D. 1525. But in all theſe editions the name of the author being ſuppreſſed, ſome have called it the work of William Toton, who was only the editor of the ſecond edition; and others have aſcribed it to others. But Mariana, in the ſecond tome of his Spaniſh Hiſtory, lib. 22. cap. 13, tells us,

the true author of the book was Alphonſus Spina, a Franciſcan friar of Caſtile in Spain, who from a Jew turning Chriſtian, entered himſelf of that order, and after, by ſeveral advances, came to be a biſhop in that kingdom. But the preſent general of the Jeſuits, notwithſtanding the authority of this great man of his order, in a book lately publiſhed by him againſt the Mahometan religion, ſtill aſcribes it to William Toton. But the book is of better uſe to acquaint us with the doctrines and opinions of the Chriſtians of that age, than to give us any true light either of Mahomet or his religion. For in that part which is levelled againſt this impoſture, too many of his arguments are built upon ſuch relations, both concerning it and the author thereof, as have no other bottom, but the miſtaken traditions of the vulgar.

Golii Notæ ad Alfragani Elementa Aſtronomica; which are exceeding uſeful for the underſtanding of the geography of the Eaſt. The book was publiſhed at Leyden, A. D. 1669.

Philippi Guadagnoli Apologia pro Chriſtiana Religione, contra Objectiones Ahmed Filii Zin Alabedin Perſæ Aſpahenſis. Of which book I have already given an account in what I have written of Ahmed Ebn Zin, againſt whom it is written.

Gentii Notæ ad Muſladini Saadi Roſarium Politicum; publiſhed at Amſterdam, A. D. 1651.

Grotius de Veritate Chriſtianæ Religionis; & Epiſtolæ ad Gallos.

Hottingeri Hiſtoria Orientalis. Of this book there are two editions; the firſt A. D. 1651, and the ſecond A. D. 1660, the latter is much enlarged. The author was profeſſor of the Oriental tongues, firſt at Zurich in Swifferland, and afterwards at Heidelbergh; from whence being called to be profeſſor at Leyden, he was, while on his removal thither, unfortunately drowned in the Rhine. He was a man of great induſtry and learning; but having written very much within

the compaſs of a few years (for he died young) his books want accuracy; though all of them have their uſe.

Hiſtoria Miſcella, a Roman hiſtory begun by Eutropius, continued by Paulus Diaconus, and finiſhed by Landulphus Sagax.

Johannes Andreas de Conſuſione Sectæ Mahometanæ. The author of this book was formerly an Alfaki, or a doctor of the Mahometan law; but in the year 1487, being at Valentia in Spain converted to the Chriſtian religion, he was received into holy orders, and wrote this book in Spaniſh againſt the religion which he forſook; from whence it was tranſlated into Italian by Dominicus de Gazelu, A. D. 1540. And out of that tranſlation it was publiſhed in Latin by Johannes Lauterbach, A. D. 1595, and re-printed by Voetius at Utrecht, A. D. 1656. He having thoroughly underſtood the religion which he confutes, doth much more pertinently write againſt it, than many others do that handle this argument.

Macrobii Saturnalia.

Caii Plinii Secundi Naturalis Hiſtoria.

Caii Plinii Cæcilii Secundi Epiſtolæ.

Pocock. The famous profeſſor of the Hebrew and Arabic tongues at Oxford; who was, for eminency of goodneſs, as well as learning, the greateſt ornament of the age in which he lived, and God bleſſed him with a long life to be uſeful thereto. He was born A. D. 1604, and died at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, in the month of September, A. D. 1691. He was for above ſixty years a conſtant editor of learned and uſeful books: The firſt which he publiſhed, contains an edition of four of the Catholic Epiſtles in Syriac, *i. e.* the Second of St. Peter, the Second and Third of St. John, and the Epiſtle of St. Jude, with verſions and notes, which was printed at Leyden, A. D. 1630, by Voſſius, to whom he preſented it the year before at Oxford, on his coming thither to ſee that univerſity: and the

laſt was his Commentary on Joel, which came forth the year in which he died. His Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabicæ, which I frequently make uſe of in this tract, was publiſhed A. D. 1650, and is a moſt accurate and judicious collection out of the beſt Arab writers, relating to the ſubject which he handles.

Richardi Confutatio Legis Saracenicæ. The author was a Dominican friar, who in the year 1210, went to Bagdat, on purpoſe to ſtudy the Mahometan religion out of their own books, in order to confute it; and on his return publiſhed this learned and judicious tract concerning it. Demetrius Cydonius tranſlated it into Greek for the Emperor Cantacuzenus, who makes great uſe of it, taking thence moſt of that which he hath of any moment in his four Orations againſt the Mahometan religion. From this Greek verſion of Demetrius Cydonius it was tranſlated back again into Latin by Bartholomæus Picenus, which tranſlation is publiſhed with the Latin Alcoran of Bibliander, and that is all we now have of it, the original being loſt. This, and Johannes Andreas' tract de Confuſione Sectæ Mahometanæ, are the beſt of any that have been formerly publiſhed by the Weſtern writers on this argument, and beſt accord with what the Mahometans themſelves teach of their religion. Others have too much ſpent themſelves on falſe notions concerning it, for want of an exact knowledge of that which they wrote againſt.

Roderici Toletani Hiſtoria Arabum. It contains an hiſtory of the Saracens from the birth of Mahomet to the year of our Lord 1150. The author was archbiſhop of Toledo in Spain, and was preſent at the Lateran council, A. D. 1215. His hiſtory, from the tenth chapter, is moſtly confined to the Saracens of Spain, and is but of little credit, where he relates any thing of them out of that country. It was publiſhed with Erpenius' Hiſtoria Saracenica at Leyden, A. D. 1625.

Shickardi Tarich, ſeu Series Regum Perſarum, Tubingæ, A. D. 1628.

Spanhemii Introductio ad Hiſtoriam Sacram, Amſtel. A. D. 1694.

Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, and Notæ ejus ad Sphæram Manilii.

Valerius Maximus.

Vaninus, a famous Atheiſt. He was by birth a Neapolitan, and came into France on purpoſe to promote the impiety he had embraced; of which being convicted at Tholouſe, he rather choſe to become a martyr for it, than renounce it; and therefore was publicly burned in that city, A. D. 1619, perſiſting to deny the being of a God with a wonderful obſtinacy even in thoſe flames in which he periſhed. He wrote two books; the firſt was publiſhed A. D. 1615, entitled Æternæ Providentiæ Amphitheatrum; and the other the next year after, which is his Dialogi de Admirandis Naturæ, in both which he ſerves that cauſe for the ſake of which he died.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH AUTHORS.

Purchas' Pilgrimage.

Ricaut's Hiſtory of the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire.

Smyth's Remarks upon the Manners, Religion, and Government of the Turks.

Thevenot's Travels.

FINIS.